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2262 d. 17

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534

Thomas Bell

22b.2. d.17

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MISCELLANEOUS

ANTIQUITIES;

OR,

A COLLECTION OF

CURIOUS PAPERS:

Either republiſhed from SCARCE TRACTS, or now firſt printed from ORIGINAL MSS.

NUMBER I.

TO BE CONTINUED OCCASIONALLY.

Invenies illic et feſta domeſtica vobis.
Sæpe tibi Pater eſt, ſæpe legendus Avus.

OVID. Faſt. lib. 2.

STRAWBERRY-HILL:
PRINTED BY THOMAS KIRGATE, M.DCC.LXXII.

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BY THE EDITORS.

THE taſte for anecdotes and hiſtoric papers, for ancient letters that record affairs of ſtate, illuſtrate characters of remarkable perſons, or preſerve the memory of former manners and cuſtoms, was never more general than at preſent. To indulge this diſpoſition in the public and in themſelves, the Editors of the following pages, being poſſeſſed of ſeveral original MSS. and being promiſed the uſe of others, propoſe to publiſh in numbers ſome of the moſt entertaining: at the ſame time intending to mix with them other pieces formerly printed, now little known, and not to be met with but by accident. Nor will the numbers appear with any periodic regularity, but as it ſhall ſuit the leiſure and convenience of the Gentlemen who have undertaken the

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the work, which is in imitation of Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, and is ſolely calculated for amuſement; for which reaſon the Editors make no promiſes, enter into no engagements; but ſhall take the liberty of continuing, varying, or dropping the plan, when and in what manner they pleaſe---a notice they think right to give, that no man may complain hereafter of being diſappointed.

Miſcellaneous

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Miſcellaneous Antiquities.

NUMBER I.

CHAP. I.*

An Account of ſome Tournaments and other martial Diverſions.

This piece is extracted from a thin folio written by Sir William Segar, Norroy; and is called by the Author, Honour Military and Ciuill; printed at London in 1602. *It is divided into four books, of which, the firſt treats of war and ſoldiers; the ſecond of knighthood; the third of ſingle combat, and thence of triumphs, tournaments, and challenges; and the laſt of honour and honours. The work contains many curious notices: the third book has preſerved ſome of the ſplendid and romantic ceremonies, practiced in the reign of our Heroine Elizabeth. Theſe, with their introductory chapters, are now offered to the public.*

AT euery publique triumph before a Prince it ſeemeth the vſe heretofore hath ben, that the Prizes of beſt deſert ſhould be giuen by the hand of the Queene, notwithſtanding it were in the Kings preſence: but firſt a ſolemne proclamation to be made by the Heralds, to this effect.

Oyez,

* In the original this is the 49th chapter.

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Oyez, oyez, oyez: Be it knowen to all men by theſe preſents, that by authority of the moſt high, moſt excellent, and moſt puiſſant Prince *H.* by the grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, &c. That of thoſe which haue Iouſted on the Challengers ſide, *A. B.* hath deſerved the prize, and to him let the ſame be giuen as due, by the cenſure of the Queene, with the aſſent of her Ladies, Gentlewomen, and all others of her Highneſſe Court here preſent.

Likewiſe on the party of Defenders, *C. D.* hath Iouſted well, *E. F.* better, but *G. H.* beſt of all: vnto whome the prize is iudged by the moſt mightie, moſt excellent, and vertuous Princeſſe with conſent aforeſaid.

This was the forme of deliuering the prizes, at the moſt noble and triumphant Iouſts performed by King *Henry* the eight and *Francis* the French King, with their Nobility and Gentlemen of Armes, at their Interview in *Picardie*, where the Proclamation in forme aforeſaid was pronounced in Engliſh and French.

It ſeemeth that in ages more ancient the vſe was, that the Prince did alſo giue a letter of atteſtation to ſuch perſons as gained any prize, either in combat for life or honour: for myſelf haue read ſuch a one granted by a King of *France* vnto an Italian Gentleman, in theſe words following:

Philip

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*PHilip** by the grace of God King of *France*, &c. Be it knowen to all men to whome theſe Letters ſhall come, and to euery other perſon that take delight or pleaſure in Arms; and generally to all Emperors, Kings, Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earles, Princes, Barons, and other Gentlemen, That we haue celebrated a ſolemne triumph, to the honor, praiſe, and the glory of God, and the commendation of ſuch as did fight in this honourable action of Armes. And beeing deſirous that they who have valorouſly perfourmed their parts without receiuing blame or diſgrace, ſhould be knowen; to the end honour may be giuen to euery one according to his merit: Therefore we haue hereby ordained, commanded, and iudged, for the euerlaſting honour, praiſe, and glory of the excellent and vertuous Gentleman *N.* his name ſhall be proclaimed in all the foure corners of the Liſts or place of Iouſts by the king of Armes, the Heralds, and Purſeuants, and by the cenſure of the Iudges of the field, repreſenting our perſon: whereby all men may knowe, that the ſayde *N.* is the moſt excellent and moſt vertuous Gentleman of Armes in all our kingdome. Wee moreouer commaund, that hee ſhall be mounted vpon a white horſe, and that euery perſon preſent, as well women as men, ſhall with vs follow him in proceſſion on foot. And that the ſaid *N.* ſhall ride vnder a canopy vnto the Church. We likewiſe ordaine and commaund, that in returne from the Church, hee ſhall paſſe through the place

* Query, Whether Philip le Hardy, or Philip le Bel?

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place of Iouſts, and there take poſſeſſion of the keyes, which ſhall be deliuered vnto him by the king of Armes in ſigne of victory. Laſtly wee commaund, that the celebration of the feaſt ſhall continue the ſpace of fifteene dayes, to the commendation and glory of the victorious *N.* And in witnes of the very troth in this matter, we haue ſigned theſe Letters with red inke, and thereunto ſet our Royall Seale. Dated in our Citie of Paris the 4. of July, &c.

CHAP. II.*

Of Juſts and Turneaments, and how the accidents in ſuch exerciſes are to be iudged in the Kingdome of Naples.

IT is written, how at a triumph in the noble citie of *Naples*, a Gentleman called the L. *Peter* Counte of *Deriſe*, receiued ſo furious an encounter by the Launce of another that ran againſt him, that therewith he became at one inſtant diſarmed of his ſhield, his Curats and Headpeece, ſo as he being vtterly diſarmed, was left on horſebacke in his doublet onely, without other harme. In requital whereof, the ſaid *Peter* gaue vnto the other Gentleman ſo violent a blow, as therewithal the girthes of the horſe were broken, and the man caſt headlong on the ground.

Whereupon

* The 50th in the original.

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Whereupon a queſtion was moued, which of them had merited moſt honour, or rather which of them deſerved leaſt reproch? Whereunto was anſwered abſolutely, that he who fell from the horſe, was moſt diſhonored, for (next vnto death) to fall from the horſe is moſt reprochfull.

Yet it is leſſe diſgrace to fall with the horſe, then to fal alone: and therefore, albeit a man doth runne neuer ſo well, if in the end he doth fall from the horſe, he can by no meanes receiue honour for that day, but ſhal rather depart with diſgrace.

Who ſo fighteth on foot at Barrier, or in any other exerciſe of Armes, is by the force of his Aduerſary conſtrained with his hand to touch the ground, ſhall thereby loſe all commendation.

He that on horſebacke directeth his Launce at the head, is more to be praiſed, then he that toucheth lower. For the higher the Launce hitteth, the greater is the Runners commendation.

Whoſo runneth low is not onely vnworthy praiſe, but alſo meriteth reproch. And he who ſo carieth his Launce comely and firme, is more to be praiſed, although he breake not, then he who miſgouerneth his horſe, or vnſkilfully handleth his Launce, although he doeth breake.

He that vſeth to runne high, fitteth ſteadily and mooueth leaſt in his courſe, accompanying his horſe euenly and iuſtly, is in running worthy all commendation.

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He that falleth with the encounter of the aduerſary, although (as is before ſaid) the ſame be a great diſgrace: yet is it more excuſeable, then if he remaineth on horſebacke amazed, ſuffering his horſe to wander he wotteth not whither.

He that with his Launce taketh away the reſt of the aduerſaries Armor, meriteth more honour, then he that taketh away any other ornament.

He that breaketh his Launce on the pomel or bolſter of his aduerſaries ſaddle deſerueth worſe than he who beareth his Launce well without breaking.

He that breaketh on the face or other part of the horſe, meriteth worſe than he that breaketh not at all.

He that hurteth an horſe, ſhall not receive honor, although before he hath run well: for he that hurteth an horſe is in like predicament with him that falleth, who cannot on that day receiue any honour.

He is worthy ſmall eſtimation that cannot gouerne his owne horſe, or that ſitteth looſe in his ſaddle: but much is he to be praiſed, that with his force diſordereth his aduerſary in the ſaddle.

He that letteth his Launce fall, can claime no commendation. And leſſe worthy praiſe is he that knoweth not how it ſhould be charged.

He that breaketh the Launce furiouſly in many pieces, is more reputed, then he that breaketh it faintly in one onely place.

He

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He that conueyeth his Lance into the Reſt in due time, is worthy commendation: but he that carieth it ſhaking in his hand, or vnſtayedly in the Reſt, meriteth blame.

He that dexterioufly carieth the Lance long on the arme, and ſkilfully conueyeth it into the Reſt nere the time of encounter, is more allowed, then he that ſuddenly and at the firſt ſetting out doth charge it.

To conclude, he is worthy all commendation, that beareth himſelfe wel on horſebacke, that ſitteth comely, that fitteth his body well with armor, that hath his perſon ſo diſpoſed, as if it were without Armor, that can endure to weare it long, and that till the end of the day diſarmeth not his head.

He that performeth not all his determined courſes, ought not receiue any prize or honor.

He that hurteth or toucheth an horſe with his Launce, ſhal neither haue prize nor praiſe, for he is in caſe as though he had fallen.

He that doth fall, may not run any more in that day, vnleſſe he falleth on his feet ſtanding right up, and be alſo a Challenger: for in that caſe he may returne to horſe and anſwere all commers, becauſe on that day hee is ſo bound to doe.

CHAP.

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CHAP. III.*

A Triumph in the reigne of King Richard the ſecond, 1390.

THIS noble Prince being aduertiſed, with what magnificence and pompe, the Queene *Iſabella* of *France* had made her †entry into *Paris*, thought good to appoint a militarie triumph at *London*, wherin appeared ſixty Knights, and ſo many faire yoūng Ladies of his Court ſumptuouſly apparelled.

With this troope, his Maieſtie rode from the Tower of *London* vnto Smithfield: and paſſing thorow Cheapeſide a proclamation was made, that on Sunday and Munday next following, theſe Knights would attende there to challenge all comers.

For him that deſerved beſt in this Iuſt (if he were a ſtranger) the Queene and her Ladies had prepared a crowne of golde: or if he were any of the ſixty Engliſh Knights, he ſhould receiue a rich bracelet.

The Engliſh Knights likewiſe promiſed to giue vnto the ſtranger of beſt deſert, a faire horſe with his furniture: or if he were an Engliſhman, he ſhould receiue a Falcon.

This

* The 29th in the original.

† See a print of this proceſſion in Montfaucon's Monuments de la Monarchie Francoiſe.

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This challenge and theſe prizes had bene by a King of Armes formerly proclaymed in *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, *Flaunders*, *Brabant*, *Henault*, and *Germany*: which mooued many perſons of Honour and reputation to come hither. Among whom was * *William* of *Henault* Earle of *Oye* or (as ſome did call him) of *Oſtrenant*, a young Prince much delighting in Armes.

This Noble Youth deſirous to honour the King of *England* his kinſman, drew into his company many Gentlemen of his Nation, with whom hee paſſed into *England*.

Then reſoluing to performe that iourney, thought good to take the conſent of *Albert* his father, Count of *Henault*, *Holland*, and *Zeland*. Of whom with great difficultie he obtained leaue.

The like deſire to honour the King, mooued the Earle of S. *Paul*, who had married the Kings ſiſter.† And he brought

* William Count of Oye and Oſtrevant ſucceeded his father Albert of Bavaria as Count of Holland and Hainault in 1404. He was great nephew of Philippa of Hainault Queen of Edward III, and conſequently ſecond couſin of Richard II. William's ſole daughter and heireſs was the famous Jaqueline Counteſs of Holland, who deſerting her ſecond huſband John Duke of Brabant, married her third couſin Humphrey Duke of Glouceſter, but was obliged to return to her former huſband.

† Louis de Luxembourg Count de St. Pol did not marry the King's ſiſter, for Richard had no ſiſter, but his couſin Joan of Barr, grand-daughter of the Princeſs Iſabel, eldeſt daughter of King Edward III. and wife of Ingelram de Coucy. *V. Anderſon's Geneal. Tables, and Sandford, p.* 178.

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with him a great troope of gallant Knights.

Theſe two Princes came firſt vnto *Calis*, where they found Engliſh ſhips readie to tranſport them. But the Earle of *Oye* paſſed ouer firſt: and being come to *London* had acceſſe to the King: of whom he was with great ioy embraced. The like courteſie he found in **Iohn Holland* the Kings brother, and all other Lords of the Court.

The day of triumph being come, the King and the Queene attended upon by the troopes of men at Armes and Ladies aforeſaid, paſſed through *London* from the Tower to Smithfield.

Being come thither, the King, the Queene, the Ladies, and other honourable perſonages, ſetled themſelues in ſuch places as were prepared, and ſorted with their degrees.

Then were the men of Armes marſhalled, and ſet in ſuch order, as they ſhould runne.

The firſt courſes were allotted to the Earle of S. *Paul* and his band: who were with great courage encountered by the Engliſh. Betweene them the firſt dayes Iuſting was ſpent: and that night his Maieſtie, the Queene and all the company ſupped and lodged in the Biſhops houſe, neere to Saint Pauls Church.

The

* John Holland Earl of Huntingdon, and afterwards Duke of Exeter, was ſecond ſon of Joan Princeſs of Wales, widow of the Black Prince, by her firſt huſband Sir Thomas Holland.

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The chiefe honour and commendation of that firſt fight, was (among the ſtrangers) giuen vnto the Earle of S. *Paul*: and among the Engliſh the Earle of *Huntington* had the praiſe.

This magnificent ſupper ended, euery one reſorted to his lodging (the Kinge and Queene onely excepted) who continued their lodging in that houſe all the time of that triumph.

The next day, after noone, King *Richard* himſelfe in compleat Armour appeared in the fielde, being followed with the whole band of Engliſh Knights.

Thither alſo came the Queene with her traine of Ladies, and was ſet in that roome, where the day before ſhe had bene placed.

The firſt (of the ſtrangers) that offered to runne, was the Earle of *Oye:* who preſented himſelfe, and his companie moſt pompouſly furniſhed. And after him followed the Earle of S. *Paul,* with his troope of Frenchmen.

The Knights ſtrangers, being entred and readie, were foorthwith incountred by the Engliſh. The conflict continued till darke night, with equall honour.

The Iuſts of that day ended, the King returned to his lodging, accompanied with the Noble ſtrangers, and there ſupped.

The chiefe commendation of that day (on the ſtrangers part) was allotted to the Earle of *Oye,* who by his vertue, without fauour, ſo deſerued.

Likewiſe.

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Likewiſe among the Engliſh, a Gentleman named *Hewe Spencer* was highly prayſed.

On Tueſday alſo, the men at Armes reſorted to the Tilt, and continued the exerciſe, with great admiration of the beholders.

On Wedneſday the runners intermingled themſelues, and euery one did runne as he thought good.

On Thurſday the King conuited all the men: and all the women ſupped with the Queene.

On Friday the whole company was feaſted by the Duke of *Lancaſter*.

On Saturday the King and the Queene, accompanied with the Earles of *Oye* and S. *Paul* (in great ſtate) rode to *Windſor*: where they were moſt honourably intertayned: and the Earle of *Oye* receiued the Garter. From thence euery one returned home.

CHAP. IV.*

A Militarie Triumph at Bruſſels, *Anno* 1549.

A fained Fortreſſe, with Trenches, *Baracadoes*, and other furniture of defence was erected. On the roofe whereof a ſword of gold was ſet, adorned with precious ſtones.

This

* The 41ſt in the original.

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This Caſtell was inuironed with water, like to an Iland: and impoſſible it was to movnt vnto the walls, but by degrees and ſtaires exceeding ſteepe.

This yland was called *Inſula Fortunæ*, which is the yle of Fortune: others named it *Inſula periculoſa*: the perilous yland.

Vpon the water which inuironed the Caſtell, a ſhip of gold did alwayes ride at anker, with ſailes of red ſilke and gold. Neither was any thing elſe wanting to illuſtrate the beautie thereof.

On the firſt gate was painted a roaring Lion of gold, which picture ſhined very glorioufly: and neere to it was a poſterne gate, the name whereof was *Porta terroris*: which is the gate of terror.

Betweene the water and the gate was a large Court: and there hanged a large white Shield, and therein was painted a blacke Eagle.

Neere to that place was a Turret, whereinto no man could come, vntill he had paſſed many doores: it was called *Tranſitus periculoſus*, which is, the perilous paſſage.

Not far from thence was a Pillar of no great height, yet broad and ſquare, and thereon was painted a red Griffin, vnder which ſigne were graued the Lawes of that yland in three tongues.

The firſt paſſage to the Caſtell was kept by the Knight of the red Griffin: who was indeed the Earle *Arinberg*.

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The ſecond paſſage was kept by the Knight of the black Egle: that was the Earle *Hoochſtrat*.

The third paſſage next the yland, was kept by the Knight of the golden Lyon: which was the Earle of *Egmond*.

Within this Caſtell, called *Arx tenebroſa*; remained the L. *Corbaron* gouernor to the Prince **Auraſina*, who had before wonne it by art Magicke: and now by conuerting the letters of his name backwarde, named himſelfe *Norabroc*.

Before euery of the foreſaid gates, a magnificent Pauilion was erected, and therein the Earles with their troupes attended their enemies.

Then was there a petition preſented to the Emperour, againſt *Norabroc* the Magician, for that hee by his diueliſh art and force of the inchanted ſword, had ſurpriſed many noble perſonages and worthy Knights, now priſoners in the Caſtell of darkneſſe.

And forſomuch as it hath bene propheſied, that the glorious expugnation of this Caſtell is deſtined onely to the moſt vertuous and fortunate Prince liuing vnder the ſunne (who can be no other then the excellent Prince of † *Spaine* ſonne to the moſt inuincible Emperour *Charles*) they humbly deſired, that he with his Knights might attempt the enterpriſe.

The Emperours licenſe obtayned, the three Knights within the darke Caſtel came foorth to encounter all thoſe that durſt aſſayle them.

The

* The Prince of Orange. † Afterwards Philip II.

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The firſt that appeared, called himſelfe the Darke Knight, followed with one onely ſeruant to carry his launce. His armour was blacke, and his apparell courſe: Of the ſame colour was the attire of his ſeruant, and the furniture of his horſe. But the aſſault no ſooner was made, but he retired into the Caſtle. *Norabroc* had euer ſixe Gentlemen apparelled in red and yellow, readie to receiue ſuch Knights as went out or in.

Thoſe ſixe were attired after the Hungarian faſhion, wearing on their heads Turbants.

Theſe men had charge of the bridge, to let in euery Knight that would fight. This Darke Knight was the Lord *Chaumont:* and he that encountred him was the Knight of the red Griffin, otherwiſe called the Earle of *Arenberg*. His armour was all gilded, and ouer it hee ware an arming coate of ſiluer cloth, very rich. In his creſt he alſo ware feathers white and vermilion.

The Darke Knight thus retired to the Caſtle, three other Knights appeared in coates of blacke cloth of gold, and in their creſts they ware feathers of many colours. Before them rode a young man apparelled like to a woman, after the moſt anticke faſhion.

That woman was mounted vpon a fiſh, and by her a footman did runne. She complained and bitterly curſed one, by whom ſhe had bene iniured.

Then

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Then the Knights who accompanied her, promiſed to be reuenged, and preſently determined to aſſault the Iland.

The firſt of theſe three Knights bearing many colours, was *Yuan Cunia* the Spaniard: who at the ſecond courſe, hurt the Earle *Arenberg* very ſore; and having loſt the vſe of one finger on his right hand, he ran no more. In his place therefore ſucceeded, a Knight vnknowen, wearing the ſigne of an horne. Then came the Earle *Hochſtrate* in white ſiluer: wearing on his breaſt a roſe. And although he perfourmed his part well, yet was he forced to diſmount.

The Earle *Arenberg* beeing wounded, in his place one other of three Knights errant, did come: who was the Lord *Hubermunt* of the Emperors Chamber.

The third Knight was *Peter Erneſt* Earle *Mansfield*, calling himſelfe Knight of the white * Moyle. Againſt him came the Knight of the golden Lyon: vpon whom the Earle *Mansfield* brake three ſwords: but the fourth ſword by miſaduenture fell out of his hand, and thereby he forced to become priſoner. And this was the end of that dayes conflict.

The next day ſoone after dinner, out came the Lord *Prious* of *Burgundy* called the Knight of the greene Shield: hee and his horſe were furniſhed with gold and greene. The firſt three encounters he made againſt the Lord *Thourlo*, were to good purpoſe: but beeing come to the ſword, it was by force wreſted from him, and he caried to priſon.

Then

* A Mule.

Then followed *Rodorigo Baſſano* a Spaniard, called *Pedro Vermandeſio*, who within three encounters was taken.

The Lo. *Courlan* a Burgundian, called Knight of the three Starres, all in greene, deſiring to be reuenged, was alſo made priſoner.

The next day *Peter Erneſtus* Earle *Mansfield* deſired againe to try his fortune, calling himſelf the feathered Knight. But at the ſecond encounter his aduerſaries Launce brake the ſight of his headpeece, and cut his noſe, wherewith he fell downe dead: yet becauſe the armour was good and the violence of the blow broken, he recouered.

After *Mansfield*, followed the L. *Noyel* a Fleming: who after a little fight before the tower of Terror, where he fought with great courage, was forced to yeeld.

Then *Iacomo di Leyua* a Spaniard (called the *Indian* Knight) attired in blacke, after the ſecond courſe yeelded himſelfe.

Next to the Spaniard entred two Knights in red cloth of Tiſſue, richly embroidered with gold: they called themſelues Knights of *Hungary*. The one was the Prince of *Aſcoli*, who at the firſt encounter yeelded himſelfe: neither had *Giacobo a Cunia* (called alſo *Gonartus a Stella tenebroſa*) better fortune: for at the firſt courſe he was taken.

The firſt that entred the Iland by force, was *Iohn Guixada* ſirnamed *Guliehmus Superbus*: He, apparelled in blacke tiſſue embrodered about with gold, by force of Armes brake

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into all the paſſages; and then by aid of the Lord *Boſſuuio* maſter of the Emperours ſtable, was receiued into a Barke, hauing ſayles of white and red ſilke. So being landed in the Ile, he attempted to winne the precious ſword. And though his attempt prooued vaine, yet in approbation of his valour, the Queene did giue him a crowne.

Next to him his brother, with equall fortune, entred the Iland: men called him *Iohn Lodouic Guixada*, who for his hardy enterpriſe receiued alſo a garland.

The like ſucceſſe had the Duke of *Arſcot* his brother, who with the Marqueſſe of *Cieura* (called Knight of the red Shield, whereon were painted three Mores heads) entred the Ile. Likewiſe *Ferdinando della Zerda* a Spaniard (called fortunes Knight) hauing ſlaine the guard, was alſo crowned.

The next day alſo *Monſieur de Chaumont*, called the ſodaine Knight, and one other Knight named *Floreſtan* which was the Lord *Valous*, both Flemings, yeelded their charges.

The fift man that entred the Ile, was *Lodouico Zapatta* a Spaniard: his garments were of yellow cloth of gold. But *Iohn Zeuendio* a Spaniard alſo, called the ſorowfull Knight, was forced in the firſt ſtraight to alight, and was preſently ledde into the darke fortreſſe. The like fortune had *Monſieur de Moncean* named Knight of the Miſtie mountaine.

The ſixt that entred the Ile was the Earle of *Megen*, otherwiſe the Knight of the Sunne. His apparell was blacke cloth of gold. The like good hap was like to befall vnto.

Monſieur

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Monſieur Champagni, but his horſe encountring an enemy at the chocke, amazed him ſo much as he fell downe and was taken priſoner.

The ſeventh garland *Gaſpero Robleſio* a Spaniard gained. He being called Knight of the Moone, recouered the ſecond paſſage, complaining vnto the Earle of *Egmont*, that the Iudges without deſert had giuen honour to *Monſieur de Truilier* a Frenchman.

But *Monſieur Querenaut* a Knight errant, encountring *Monſieur Preux* called Knight of the Roſe, took him priſoner. Then *Garna ab Ayala* a Spaniard, called the Knight of Death, all in blacke poudered white, came foorth to fight. Before him the Queenes Muſicians went ſinging a funerall tune; which prognoſticated his miſaduenture: for at the firſt encounter he was taken.

Then appeared one called Knight of the *Baſiliſco*, being indeed *Monſieur Myngoual*, who in a fight on foot gained great honour: but at his firſt encounter on horſebacke he became priſoner.

The eight garland *Monſieur de Mally* a Flemiſh Gentleman, and a follower of the Duke of *Arſcot*, obtained. That Knight was brauely furniſhed in white ſiluer, and called himſelfe the Furious Knight.

Laſt of all, the prince of *Spaine* with his Band of Knights appeared: their attire was vermilion cloth of gold, wrought with flowers of ſiluer, and garded about with lace of gold.

The

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The Capariſons of their horſes were of the ſame. Alſo the Saddles, the Petrels, Croopers, and Girthes were of vermilion ſilke, mixed with gold; ſo was euery mans ſcaberd, and all the fauours in their Creaſts were made of white and vermilion red. The chiefe Knight of the princes company was the Marques of *Peſcara*, ſonne to the Marqueſſe of *Guaſta* in *Italy*, who called himſelfe Knight *Anonius*; a beardleſſe young man, yet ſo valorous, as in that fight he receiued a crowne.

Next to him was the Baron *Noirquerk*, a Fleming, called Knight of the Roſe: a gallant Gentleman, yet at the firſt encounter taken priſoner.

The third was the Marqueſſe of *Monte*, Knight of the Skie, becauſe his armour was of that colour: Hee paſſed the Strait, but further hee could not goe.

The fourth was the Prince of *Piemount* and Duke of *Sauoy*, whoſe vertue merited a garland, but his ſword could not gaine more ground, but onely to enter the Iland.

The fift was the Prince of *Spaine*, who brake his two firſt Launces with great courage: and the third was torne with ſo great violence, as therof ten pieces were ſeen to lie on the ground.

Theſe courſes furiouſly perfourmed, he drew forth his ſword, and with marueilous ſpeede pearced further into the Iland: till in the end of three aſſaults, he gained the place where the fatall ſword was: whereof hauing layd hold, he flouriſhed

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flouriſhed ouer his head, and forthwith the miſty cloudes of darkenes vaniſhed: ſo, as euery man might ſee all places of the Caſtel.

The darkenes of the fortreſſe thus driuen away, the Prince with his inchanted ſword touched the wals: and immediately they fell downe.

The Caſtel thus demoliſhed, the Inchanter *Norabroc*, with a Turkiſh cap on his head, came forth: and kneeling on his knees, deſired the Princes pardon. Therewith alſo he ſet at libertie all the Knights whom he held in priſon, and they being free, in triumphant wiſe followed the Prince to his Court.

CHAP. V.*

Of Iuſts and Turneaments, how they were anciently iudged by Iohn Tiptoft *Earle of Worceſter, high Conſtable of England, in the reigne of King* Edward *the fourth.*

FIRST, who ſo breaketh moſt ſpeares, as they ought be broken, ſhall haue the prize.

Who ſo hitteth three times in the height of the helme, ſhall haue a prize.

* The 51ſt in the original.

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Who ſo meeteth cronall to cronall ſhall haue a prize.

Who ſo beareth a man downe with the force of his ſpeare, ſhall haue a prize.

Here followeth wherefore the prize ſhall be loſt.

FIrſt, who ſo ſtriketh an horſe, ſhall haue no prize.

Who ſo ſtriketh a man, his backe turned or diſgarniſhed of his ſpeare, ſhall haue no prize.

Who ſo hitteth the toyle three times, ſhall haue no prize.

Who ſo vnhelmeth himſelfe two times, ſhall haue no prize, vnleſſe his horſe faile him.

Here followeth how ſpeares ſhall be allowed.

FIrſt, who ſo breaketh a ſpeare betweene the ſaddle, and the charnell of the helme, ſhall be allowed one.

Who ſo breaketh a ſpeare from the charnell vpward, ſhall be allowed one.

Who ſo breaketh and putteth his aduerſary downe, or out of the ſaddle, or diſarmeth him in ſuch wiſe, as he may not runne the next courſe after, ſhall be allowed three ſpeares broken.

Here followeth how ſpeares broken ſhall be diſallowed.

FIrſt, hee that breaketh on the ſaddle, ſhall be diſallowed for a ſpeare breaking.

Who ſo hitteth the toile once, ſhall be diſallowed for two.

Who

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Who ſo hitteth the toile twiſe, for the ſecond ſhall be abated three.

Who ſo breaketh a ſpeare within a foote of the charnel, ſhall be iudged as no ſpeare, but a taynt.

Of prizes to be giuen.

FIrſt, who ſo beareth a man downe, and out of the ſaddle, or putteth him to earth horſe and man, ſhall haue the prize before him that ſtriketh curnall to curnall.

He that ſtriketh curnall to curnall two times, ſhall haue the prize before him that ſtriketh the ſight three times.

He that ſtriketh the ſight two times, ſhall haue the prize before him that breaketh moſt ſpeares.

At the Torney.

TWO blowes at paſſage, and ten at the ioyning ought ſuffiſe, vnleſſe it be otherwiſe determined.

All gripes, ſhockes, and foule play forbidden.

How prizes at Turney and Barriers are to be loſt.

HE that giueth a ſtroke with a pike from girdle downeward, or vnder the barre, ſhall haue no prize.

He whoſe ſword falleth out of his hand, ſhall haue no prize.

He that hath a cloſe gauntlet, or any thing to faſten his ſword to his hand, ſhall haue no prize.

He

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He that ſtayeth his hand on the barre, in fighting ſhall haue no prize.

He that ſheweth not his ſword vnto the Iudges before he fighteth, ſhall haue no prize.

HAuing here ſpoken of forreine triumphs, I thinke it not impertinent (and haply my duety alſo) to remember what honour hath bene by like Actions done vnto the Kings of *England* our own natural Souereigns. For albeit the *Romans*, the *Perſians*, and *Syrians* being heretofore the moſt mighty Monarches of the world, and conſequently of greateſt pompe, yet in later time (and chiefly within theſe 500 yeeres) no Prince Chriſtian hath liued more honourably then the Kings of *England*. And as their proweſſe in Armes hath bene great, ſo their Courts for magnificence and greatneſſe needed not giue place to any, which may appeare by the often and excellent triumphes celebrated before Kings and Queenes of this land. Yea certaine it is, that neither *France*, *Spaine*, *Germany*, or other Nation Chriſtian was euer honoured with ſo many Militarie Triumphes, as *England* hath bene, chiefly in the raigne of her Maieſtie who now liueth: as hereafter ſhall appeare. For beſides other excellent triumphal Actions, and Militarie Paſtimes ſince her Maieſties raigne, a yeerely (and as it were ordinary) triumph hath bene celebrated to her Highneſſe honour, by the noble and vertuous Gentlemen of her Court; a cuſtome neuer before vſed nor knowen

knowen in any Court or Countrey. And albeit (as hath bene formerly remembred) the Triumphes of *Germany* were of great pompe and notable, yet becauſe they were furniſhed with the whole number of Princes and Nobilitie of that Nation, (and the celebration rare) they ſeeme to me leſſe admirable then our owne, which haue continued more then 30 yeeres yeerely, without intermiſſion; and performed chiefly (and in effect onely) by the Princes, Lords and Gentlemen dayly attendant vpon her Maieſties Royal perſon. Whereby the honour of thoſe Actions is indeed due to her Highneſſe Court onely.

CHAP. VI.*

Triumphes Military for Honour and Loue of Ladies: brought before the Kings of England.

A Triumph before King Edward *the Third*, 1343.

THIS King being the moſt warlike and vertuous Prince that liued in his dayes, happened (as mine Author ſaith) to fall in loue with a noble Lady of his kingdome, and deſiring both to honour her, and pleaſe himſelf with her

* The 52d. in the original.

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preſence, conuited all noble Ladies, to behold a triumph at *London*, to be there performed by the Nobles, and Gentlemen of his Court. This intention his Maieſtie did command to be proclaimed in *Fraunce*, *Henault*, *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and other places: giuing paſſeport and ſecure abode to all noble ſtrangers, that would reſort into *England*. That done, he ſent vnto al Princes, Lords and Eſquiers of the Realme, requiring that they with their wiues, daughters and coſins, ſhould at the day appointed, appeare at his Court.

To this feaſt came *William* Earle of *Henault*, and *Iohn* his brother with many Barons, and Gentlemen. The triumph continued 15. dayes, and euery thing ſucceeded well, had not *Iohn* the ſonne and heire of Vicount *Beaumount* bene there ſlaine.

In this triumph alſo appeared the Earle of **Lancaſter*, and †*Henry* his ſon. The Earle of *Darby*. The Lord *Robert* of *Artoys*. The Earle of *Richmount*. The Earle of ‡*Northampton*. The Earle of §*Gloceſter*. The Earle of ‖*Warwicke*. The Earle

* Henry Plantaginet Earl of Lancaſter.

† Henry Duke of Lancaſter, then Earl of Derby; the text therefore ought to run thus, Henry his ſon Earl of Derby. So in the next line we ſhould read Robert of Artois Earl of Richmond. This was the famous Robert of Artois who revolting from Philip de Valois excited Edward III. to claim the crown of France, and was by him made Earl of Richmond.

‡ William de Bohun, High Conſtable of England.

§ Hugh de Audeley.

‖ Thomas Beauchamp.

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Earle of **Saliſbury*. The Earle of †*Pembroke*. The Earle of ‡*Hartford*. The Earle of §*Arundel*. The Earle of ‖*Cornewall*. The Earle of ¶*Norffolke*. The Earle of ** *Suffolke*. The Baron of ††*Stafford* with others.

In the raigne of the ſame King *Edward*, a Royal Iuſt was holden at *Lincolne* by the Duke of *Lancaſter*, where were preſent certaine Ambaſſadors ſent by the King of *Spaine*, for the Lady *Ioane*, daughter to the King, who ſhould haue bene married vnto that King of *Spaine*: but meeting her on the way, ſhe died.

A triumph was holden at *Windſor* before the ſame King *Edward*, whereat was preſent *Dauid* King of *Scots*, the Lord of

* William de Montacute. He was killed at this tournament, which was performed at Windſor on the 30th. of January; at what time, ſays Milles, King Edward did celebrate the ſolemnity of the Round Table. *V. Catal. of Honor, p.* 1041.

† Laurence Haſtings.

‡ Humphrey Bohun Earl of Hereford, elder brother of the Earl of Northampton above-mentioned, in whoſe favour he reſigned the office of High Conſtable.

§ Richard Fitzalan.

‖ There was no ſuch perſon; John of Eltham Earl of Cornwall, brother of the King, died in 1334, and the Black Prince had the following year been made Duke of Cornwall.

¶ This was probably John Lord Seagrave, firſt huſband of Margaret, Counteſs and afterwards Ducheſs of Norfolk, ſole daughter of Thomas of Brotherton, ſon of Edward I.

** Robert de Ufford. †† Ralph Stafford.

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of * *Tankeruile*, and the Lord *Charles de Valoys*, who by the Kings licenſe was permitted to runne, and had the prize. *Anno* 1349.

In *Smithfield* were ſolemne Iuſts in the ſame Kings raigne, where was preſent a great part of the moſt valiant Knights of *England* and *France*. Thither came alſo noble perſons of other Nations, and *Spaniards*, *Cipriots*, *Armenians*, who at that time humbly defired aide againſt Pagans. *Anno* 1361.

A Triumph before King Edward *the fourth.*

IVſts were againe holden in *Smithfield*, where *Anthony Wooduile* Lord *Scales* did runne againſt the Baſtard of *Burgundie*.† *Anno* 1444.

A Triumph before King Henry *the ſixt.*

ONE other notable Action of Armes was perſonally performed in *Smithfield*, betweene a Gentleman of *Spaine* called Sir *Francis le Arogonoys*, and Sir *Iohn Aſtley* Knight of the Garter. For after the ſaid Sir *Francis* had wonne the honour from all the men at Armes in *France*, he came into *England* and made a generall challenge, but by the great valour of Sir *Iohn Aſtley* loſt the ſame vnto him.‡

Triumphs

* Tancarville.

† See Royal and Noble Authors. Vol. I.

‡ In Dugdale's Warwickſhire is a large plate containing two combats of this Sir John Aſtley, with Peter de Maſſé, and Sir Philip Boyle; but he does not mention this with the Spaniard.

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Triumphs before King Henry *the ſeuenth.*

AT *Richmont* was holden a ſolemne triumph, which continued a whole moneth, where Sir *James Parker* running againſt *Hugh Vaughan*, was hurt and died. 1494.

One other triumph was in the ſame Kings daies performed in the Tower of *London*. *Anno* 1502.

Triumphs before King Henry *the eight.*

BVT farre exceeding all theſe, was that magnificent * Iuſt and Tournament at the meeting of the two excellent Princes, King *Henry* the eight of *England*, and *Francis* the French King, who chuſing vnto them fourteen others, did challenge to run at the Tilt, and fight both at the Tourney and Barrier with all comers. The Challengers were, the King of *England*, the French King, the Duke of † *Suffolke* the Marqueſſe ‡ *Dorſet*, Sir *William Kingston*, Sir *Richard Ierningham*, Maſter *Nicholas Carew*, and Maſter *Anthonie Kneuet*, with their Aſſiſtants, Sir *Rowland* and Sir *Giles Capel:* with theſe were ſo many other French Gentlemen as made vp the number aforeſaid.

* See the particulars of this and many other tournaments, coronations and ceremonies, in Hall's Chronicle.

† Charles Brandon.

‡ Thomas Gray, ſecond Marquis Dorſet.

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For Defenders thither came *Monſieur Vandoſme*, the Earle of * *Deuonſhire*, and the Lord † *Edmond Howard*, euery of them bringing in a faire band of Knights well armed.

This moſt noble challenge of theſe two mighty Kings accompanied with fourteene other Knights (of either nation ſeuen) they cauſed to bee proclaimed by *Norrey* King at Armes, in *England*, *France*, and *Germanie*. *Anno* 12 *Henrici* 8.

One other moſt memorable Challenge, was made by the ſame King: who in his owne royall perſon, with *William* Earle of *Deuonſhire*, Sir *Thomas Kneuet*, and *Edward Neuil* Eſquire, anſwered all comers, at *Weſtminſter*. The King called himſelfe *Cœur Loyal:* the Lord *William*, *Bon Voloir:* Sir *Thomas Kneuet*, *Valiant Deſire:* and *Edward Neuil*, *Ioyeus Penſier.*‡

The Defenders were,

The Lord *Gray*, Sir § *William a Parr*, *Robert Morton*, *Richard Blunt*, *Thomas Cheney*, *Thomas Terrel*, *Chriſtopher Willoughby*, the Lord *Howard*, *Charles Brandon*, the Lord Marqueſſe, *Henrie Guilford*, the Earle of ‖ *Wiltſhire*, Sir ¶ *Thomas Bullin*,

* Henry Courtney Marquis of Exeter, afterwards beheaded.

† Father of Queen Catharine Howard.

‡ There are prints of this tournament in the firſt volume of prints publiſhed by the Society of Antiquaries.

§ Brother of Queen Catharine Parr.

‖ Henry Stafford, ſecond ſon of Henry Duke of Buckingham.

¶ Father of Queen Anne Boleyn.

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Bullin, Thomas Lucie, the Lord * *Leonard,* the Lord *Iohn, Iohn Melton, Griffith Doon, Edmond Howard, Richard Tempeſt.*

After this Challenge was ended the prize appointed for the Challengers partie was giuen vnto *Cœur Loyal:* and among the Defenders to *Edmond Howard.*

Another ſolemne Challenge was proclaimed and perfourmed by certaine Engliſh Knights, *viz.* Sir † *Iohn Dudley,* Sir *Thomas Seimor,* Sir *Francis Poynings,* Sir *George Carew, Anthony Kingston,* and *Richard Cromwel. Anno* 1540.

Another Action of Armes publiſhed in the Chamber of Preſence at Weſtminſter by a King of Armes, 25 *of Nouember in the* ‡ 1. *and* 2. *of* Philip *and* Mary.

FOraſmuch as euer it hath bene a cuſtome, that to the Courts of Kings and great Princes, Knights and Gentlemen of diuers Nations haue made their repaire for the triall of Knighthood and Exerciſe of Armes, And knowing this Royall Court of England to bee repleniſhed with as many noble Knights as any kingdome in the world at this day; It ſeemeth good to *Don Fredericke de Toledo,* the Lord *Strange,* *Don*

* Lord Leonard & Lord John Gray were ſons of the firſt Marquis Dorſet. Lord Leonard was afterwards beheaded.

† Afterwards Duke of Northumberland.

‡ It does not mean that this tournament was held in two different years, but in the firſt year of Philip and ſecond of Mary. An odd date; I do not know whether uſed on any other occaſion.

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Don Ferdinando de Toledo, Don Franciſco de Mendoça, and *Garſulace de la Vega,* That ſeeing here in this place, better then in any other, they may ſhew the great deſire that they haue to ſerue their Ladies by the honorable aduentures of their perſons, They ſay that they will maintaine a fight on foot at the Barriers with footmens harneſſe, three puſhes with a pike, and ſeven ſtrokes with a ſword, in the place appointed before the Court gate on Tueſday the 4. day of December, from the twelfth houre of the day vntill fiue at night, againſt all comers, Praying the Lords, the Earle of * *Arundell,* the Lord † *Clinton, Gartilapez de Padilla,* and *Don Pedro de Cordoua* that they would be Iudges of this Triumph, for the better performance of the conditions following.

Firſt, that he which commeth forth moſt gallantly, without wearing on himſelfe or furniture any golde, or ſiluer, fine, or counterfeit, wouen embroidered, or of goldſmiths worke, ſhall haue a rich Brooch.

He that ſtriketh beſt with a pike, ſhall haue a Ring with a Rubie.

He that fighteth beſt with a ſword, ſhall haue a Ring with a Diamond.

He that fighteth moſt valiantly when they ioyntly fight together, ſhall haue a Ring with a Diamond.

He

* Henry Fitzalan, laſt Earl of Arundel.

† Edward Fines Earl of Lincoln, Lord High Admiral.

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He that giueth a ſtroke with a pike from the girdle downeward, or vnder the barrier, ſhall winne no prize.

He that ſhall haue a cloſe gantlet, or any thing to faſten his ſword to his hand, ſhall winne no prize.

He that his ſword falleth out of his hand, ſhall winne no prize.

He that ſtriketh his hand in fight on the barriers, ſhall winne no prize.

Whoſoeuer ſhall fight, and not ſhewe his ſword to the Iudges before, ſhall winne no prize.

The Prizes giuen.

The prize of the faireſt and moſt gallant entry.

THE Marqueſſe *de Valle* came into the field very well appointed in armour and apparell. The Kings Maieſtie better than he. *Don Fredericke de Toledo* beſt of all: to whome the Queenes Maieſtie awarded the prize of the Brooch.

The prize for the pike.

THE Duke of *Medina Cæli* performed valorouſly, *Don Pedro de la Zerda* bettered him, *Don Diego Ortado di Mendoça* did beſt of all; to whome was giuen by the Queenes Maieſtie a Ring of gold with a Rubie.

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The prize for the ſword.

SIR **George Howard* fought very well, *Don Adrian Garçias* performed better, Sir †*Iohn Parrat* beſt of all: to whome the Queenes Maieſtie gaue a Ring of gold with a Diamond.

The prize at the pike in ranke.

THomas ‡ *Percy* acquited valiantly, *Carlo di Sanguine* with greater fortune, § *Ruygomez* beſt of all; to whome the Queene gaue a Ring of gold.

The prize of all together in ranke at the foyle.

LOrd ‖ *William Howard* L. Admiral with high commendation, Marqueſſe *di Toro Mayore* exceeded him, the Kings Maieſty exceeded all: to whome the Queene gaue (in higheſt honour) a Ring of golde with a rich Diamond.

In

* Son of Lord Edmund Howard, mentioned above, and brother of Queen Catherine Howard.

† Sir John Perrot, afterwards Lord Deputy of Ireland.

‡ Thomas Percy, afterwards 7th. Earl of Northumberland; beheaded in the following reign.

§ This was the famous miniſter of Philip II. and I believe this is the only notice of his having been in England.

‖ He had been indited and condemned to perpetual impriſonment on the affair of Queen Catharine Howard, was by Queen Mary created Lord Howard of Effingham, was Lord Chamberlain to her and Queen Elizabeth, and was father of the Lord Admiral Nottingham.

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In all which, and other the like triumphant Geſts perfourmed by the Engliſh and Spaniſh Nobilitie, it was euer held honourable and prizeworthy to appear within Liſtes moſt gallant and faireſt armed, and yet with leaſt ſuperfluous coſt of golde, ſiluer, embrodery, or curioſitie of workmanſhip.

CHAP. VII.*

Of the like Actions in Armes ſince the reigne of Queene Elizabeth.

ONE ſolemne Iuſt, Tournament, and fight at the Barrier was holden at Weſtminſter, wherein the Duke of † *Norffolke*, the Earle of ‡ *Suſſex*, the Earle of § *Warwick*, the Earle of *Leiceſter*, the Lord *Scroope*, the Lord *Darcie*, and the Lord ‖ *Hunſdon* were Challengers, and with great honour anſwered all commers. The Defenders names are not extant. 1558.

A royall Challenge was alſo there proclaimed before her Maieſtie; wherein were Challengers, the Earle of *Oxenford*, *Charles Howard* nowe Lord ¶ Admirall, Sir *Henrie Lea*, and Sir

* The 53d. in the original.

† Thomas, beheaded on account of the Queen of Scots.

‡ Thomas Ratcliffe, Lord Chamberlain.

§ Ambroſe Dudley, Earl of Warwick.

‖ Henry Carey, firſt couſin to the Queen.

¶ And Earl of Nottingham.

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Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, now Knights of the Garter; the one Maſter of her Maieſties Armorie; the other (at his death) Lord Chancellor.

The Defenders were,

The Lord *Stafford*, the Lord * *Henrie Seamor*, *Edward Harbert*, Sir † *George Carie*, ‡ *Thomas Cecil*, *Henry Gray*, *William Howard*, Sir *Ierome Bowes*, *Henrie Knowles*, *Henry Kneuet*, *William Norris*, *Richard Bulkley*, *Thomas Kneuet*, *William Knowles*, *Rafe Lane*, *George Delues*, *Robert Colſel*, *Launcelot Boſtock*, *Brian Anſley*, *Henrie Mackwilliam*, *Thomas Beddingfield*, *Thomas Moore*, *William Worthingtō*, *Richard Blunt*, *Thomas Conneſby*, *Robert Alexander*, *Roger Clopton*.

This triumph continued three dayes: the firſt at Tilt, the ſecond at Tourney, and the third at the Barrier.

On euery of the Challengers her Maieſtie beſtowed a prize, for the receiuing whereof, they were particularly led armed by two Ladies, vnto her preſence chamber.

The prize at the Tilt on the Defenders party was giuen vnto *Henry Gray*; at the Tourney, to the Lord *Henry Seamor*; at the Barriers, to *Thomas Cecil*. Before them went *Clarencieux* King of Armes, in his rich coate of Armes.

This magnificent triumph was performed, *Anno* 1571.

An

* Second ſon of the Protector Somerſet by his ſecond wife.

† Sir George Carew, afterwards Earl of Totneſs.

‡ Thomas Cecil, eldeſt ſon of Lord Burleigh.

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An honourable Challenge was likewiſe brought before her Maieſtie, by the Earle of * *Arundell*, calling himſelfe *Callophiſus*, who with his aſſiſtant Sir *William Drurie*, challenged all commers. *Anno* 1580.

The Defenders were,

The Earle of † *Oxford*, the Lord *Windſor*, *Phillip Sidney*, *Edward Norris*, *Henrie Knowles*, *Robert Knowles*, *Fulk Greuill*, *Thomas Kneuet*, *Thomas Kellaway*, *Rafe Bowes*, *George Goring*, *George Gifford*, *Anthonie Cooke*, *Henry Bronkard*, *Edward Denny*, *Richard Ward*, *Thomas* ‡ *Parrot*. The prize was giuen to the Earle of *Oxford*.

To theſe actions of armes, we may adde a notable tourneament on horſebacke, ſolemnized within her Maieſties pallace at Weſtminſter: which became the more rare and memorable, becauſe it was performed in the night. The manner whereof in briefe was thus.

It pleaſed her Maieſtie, (according to her princely cuſtome in the intertainement of noble ſtrangers) to conuite vnto ſupper the Duke § *Memorancie*, chiefe Marſhall of *France*,

* This muſt have been Philip Howard, eldeſt ſon of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, by Mary daughter and coheireſs of Henry Fitzalan, laſt Earl of Arundel of that line; for this latter died in this very year 1580, at the age of 68.

† Edward Vere the poet. The famous Sir Philip Sidney, and his friend Sir Fulke Greville, are too well known to want a note.

‡ Son of Sir John Perrot.

§ Henry Duke of Montmorency, Conſtable of France.

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at that time come thither to receiue the honourable order of the Garder. This magnificent ſupper ended, it pleaſed her Highneſſe (the weather being warme) to walke out of her chamber into the open Tarrace, whither alſo (awayting on her) went the ſayd Duke, and all others of the French Nobilitie, with the Ambaſſadours, Lords and Ladies of the Court. At her Maieſties comming to the north ſide of the Tarrace, there were prepared and ſet rich chaires, cuſhions and carpets. In which place it pleaſed her to ſtay, entertayning moſt gratiouſly the ſaid Duke, and other noble ſtrangers. Next vnto them were placed the Ladies, Lords, Counſellors, and other perſons of reputation, according to their degrees and conuenience of the roome. So as the ſaid Tarrace was on all ſides beſet with Lords, Ladies, and perſons of qualitie, ſumptuouſly apparelled, and richly furniſhed, and among them (both aboue and vnder) ſtood many of the Guard in their rich coates, holding an infinite number of torches: and ſo in the preaching place: by which meane, thoſe that beheld the Tarrace in this ſort furniſhed, deemed it rather a Theater celeſtiall, than a Pallace of earthly building.

The place with this royall preſence repleniſhed, ſuddainly entred *Walter* Earle of *Eſſex*, and with him twelue Gentlemen armed at all peeces, and well mounted. The Earle and his horſe was furniſhed with white cloth of ſiluer, and the reſt

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reſt in white ſattin, who after reuerence done to her Maieſty, marched to the eaſt ſide of the Court, and there in troope, ſtood firme. Forthwith entred *Edward* Earle of *Rutland*, with a like number, in like ſort armed and apparelled all in blew: and hauing preſented his reuerence, ſtayed on the weſt end. Before either of theſe bands, one Chariot was drawen, and therein a faire Damſell, conducted by an armed Knight, who pronounced certain ſpeeches in the French tongue, vnto her Maieſtie. Theſe Ceremonies paſſed, the Queene commanded the armed men to fall vnto fight: which was performed with great courage, and commendation, chiefly in the Earle of *Eſſex*, a noble perſonage, valorous in armes, and all other wayes of great vertue. Truely this Action was marueilouſly magnificent, and appeared a ſight exceeding glorious to thoſe that were below looking vpward to the Tarrace, where her Maieſtie, the Lords and Ladies ſtood, ſo pompouſly apparelled, iewelled and furniſhed, as hardly can be ſeene the like in any Chriſtian Court, as myſelfe ſaw, and other the Actors (at occaſions ſtaying from fight) with great admiration did behold and thinke.

Of the Actors names in this Triumph (it ſeemeth) no note is kept: yet are many of them liuing.

Not inferiour, but farre exceeding in princely pompe and qualitie of Actors was that Royall combat and fight on foote before her Maieſtie the firſt of *Ianuarie*, *Anno* 1581, where *Moun-*

* *Mounſieur* brother vnto the French King, the Prince of † *D'Auſine*, the Earle of *Suſſex*, the Earle of ‡ *Leiceſter*, the Count *S. Aignon*, *Mounſieur Chamuallan*, and *Mounſieur Bacqueuile* were Challengers.

The Defenders were,

The Lord § *Thomas Howard*, Sir *William Ruſſell*, *Mounſieur Brunis*, *Mounſieur S. Vincent*, Sir *Thomas Cecill*, *Henry Gray*, *Iohn Borough*, Lord *Windſor*, *Walter Windſor*, *Le Boylere*, *Le* ‖ *Cheualaier*, *Ambroſe Willoughbie*, Sir *William Drury*, *Thomas Radcliffe*, Lord *Sheffeeld*, *Robert Gray*, *Rafe Lane*, *George Carew*, *Fulke Greuill*, *William Knowles*, *Francis Knowles*, *Thomas Bedingfeild*, *Thomas Kneuet*, Lord *Darcy*, *Anthonie Mildmay*, *Rafe Stauerton*, *Launcelot Boſtock*, *George Beeſton*, *William Worthington*, *Thomas Kellaway*, Sir *George Carey*, *Rafe Bowes*, *Henry Windſor*, *Iohn Wotton*, *George Goring*, *Edward Moore*, *George Gifford*, *Thomas Borough*, *Anthony Cooke*, *Hercules Meutas*, *Richard Skipwith*, *Henrie Bronkard*, *Iohn Parker*, *Francis Darcy*, *Iohn Tirrell*.

They are not here placed according to their degrees, but as they were called to fight: and with ſuch titles as they then had.

After

* Francis Duke of Alencon and Anjou, youngeſt ſon of Henry II.

† The Prince Dauphin, not the Dauphin of France.

‡ The famous Robert Dudley, the Queen's favourite.

§ Thomas Lord Howard of Bindon, younger brother of Henry Earl of Surrey the poet, and father of Frances Ducheſs of Richmond and Lenox.

‖ I ſuppoſe we ought to read Le Chevalier de la Boiliere.

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After theſe particular Triumphes, we may not forget the ordinary exerciſes of Armes, yeerely vſed in memory of the applauſe of her Maieſties Subiects, at the day of her moſt happy aſcenſion to the crowne of *England*. In which actions diuers chiefe Lords and Gentlemen of the realme (and ſome ſtrangers alſo) appeared, though (indeed) the greateſt number (and in effect all) were ordinary attendants vpon her Maieſties Court.

CHAP. VIII.*

The originall Occaſions of the yeerely Triumphs in England.

HERE will we remember alſo (and I hope without enuie ſo may) that theſe annuall exerciſes in Armes, ſolemnized the 17 day of *Nouember*, were firſt begun and occaſioned by the right vertuous and honourable Sir *Henry* †*Lea*, Maſter of her Highneſſe Armorie, and now deſeruingly Knight of the moſt noble Order, who of his great zeale, and earneſt deſire to eternize the glory of her Maieſties Court, in the beginning of her happy reigne, voluntarily vowed (vnleſſe infirmity, age, or other accident did impeach him)

* The 54th. in the original.

† Anceſtor of the preſent Earl of Litchfield. There is a good portrait of Sir Henry at Ditchly.

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him) during his life to preſent himſelfe at the Tilt armed, the day aforeſayd yeerely, there to performe in honour of her ſacred Maieſtie the promiſe he formerly made. Whereupon the Lords and Gentlemen of the ſayd Court, incited by ſo worthy an example, determined to continue that cuſtome, and not vnlike to the ancient Knighthood *della Banda* in *Spaine*, haue euer ſince yeerely aſſembled in Armes accordingly: though true it is, that the Author of that cuſtome (being now by age ouertaken) in the 33. yeere of her Maieſties reigne reſigned and recommended that office vnto the right noble *George* Earle of * *Cumberland*. The ceremonies of which aſſignation were publiquely performed in preſence of her Maieſtie, her Ladies and Nobilitie, alſo an infinite number of people, beholding the ſame, as followeth.

On the 17. day of *Nouember*, *Anno* 1590, this honourable Gentleman together with the Earle of *Cumberland*, hauing firſt performed their ſeruice in Armes, preſented themſelues vnto her Highneſſe, at the foot of the ſtaires vnder her gallery window in the Tilt yard at *Weſtminſter*, where at that time her Maieſtie did ſit, accompanied with the *Vicount* †*Turyn* Ambaſſador of *France*, many Ladies, and the chiefeſt Nobilitie.

Her

* There is a curious print by White of this Earl in the habit he wore at the tournament.

† Turenne.

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Her Maieſty beholding theſe armed Knights comming toward her, did ſuddenly heare a muſicke ſo ſweete and ſecret, as euery one thereat greatly marueiled. And hearkening to that excellent melodie, the earth as it were opening, there appeared a Pauilion, made of white Taffata, containing eight ſcore elles, being in proportion like vnto the ſacred Temple of the Virgins Veſtall. This Temple ſeemed to conſiſt vpon pillars of Pourferry, arched like vnto a church, within it were many lampes burning. Alſo, on the one ſide there ſtood an Altar couered with cloth of gold, and thereupon two waxe candles burning in rich candleſticks, vpon the Altar alſo were layd certaine princely preſents, which after by three Virgins were preſented vnto her Maieſtie. Before the doore of this Temple ſtood a crowned Pillar, embraced by an Eglantine Tree, whereon there hanged a Table, and therein written (with letters of gold) this prayer following.

Elizæ, &c.

PIÆ, Potenti, Fæliciſſimæ virgini,
Fidei, Pacis, Nobilitatis vindici,
Cui Deus, Aſtra, Virtus,
Summa deuouerunt
omnia.
Poſt tot Annos, tot Triumphos,
Animam ad pedes poſiturus
Tuos,

Sacra

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Sacra Senex
affixit Arma.
Vitam quietam, Imperium, famam
Æternam, æternùm
precatur tibi,
Sanguine redempturus ſuo.
Vltra columnas Herculis
Columna moueatur Tua.
Corona ſuperet Coronas omnes,
vt quam cælum fæliciſſime
naſcenti Coronam dedit,
Beatiſſima moriens reportes cælo.
Summe, Sancte, Æterne,
Audi, exaudi,
Deus.

The muſicke aforeſayd, was accompanied with theſe verſes, pronounced and ſung by M. *Hales* her Maieſties ſeruant, a Gentleman in that arte excellent, and for his voice both commendable and admirable.

My golden locks time hath to ſiluer turnd,
(Oh time too ſwift, and ſwiftneſs neuer ceaſing)
My youth gainſt age, and age at youth hath ſpurnd.
But ſpurnd in vaine, youth waineth by encreaſing.
Beauty, ſtrength, and youth, flowers fading beene,
Duety, faith, and loue, are roots and euer greene.

My

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My helmet now ſhall make an hiue for bees,
And louers ſongs ſhall turne to holy pſalmes:
A man at armes muſt now ſit on his knees,
And feed on pray'rs, that are old ages almes.
And ſo from court to cottage I depart,
My Saint is ſure of mine vnſpotted hart.

And when I ſadly ſit in homely cell,
I'le teach my ſwaines this carrol for a ſong,
Bleſt be the hearts that thinke my Souereigne well,
Curs'd be the ſoules that thinke to doe her wrong.
Goddeſſe, vouchſafe this aged man his right,
To be your Beadſman now, that was your Knight.

The gifts which the Veſtall Maydens preſented unto her Maieſty, were theſe: a vaile of white exceeding rich and curiouſly wrought: a cloke and ſafegard ſet with buttons of gold, and on them were grauen Emprezes of excellent deuiſe: in the loope of euery button was a noble mans badge, fixed to a pillar richly embrodered.

And here (by way of digreſſion) let vs remember a ſpeech which this noble Gentleman vſed at ſuch time as theſe buttons were ſet vpon the garment aforeſaid: I would (quoth he) that all my friends might haue bene remembred in theſe buttons, but there is not roome enough to containe them all;

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and if I haue them not all, then (ſaid he) thoſe that are left out, may take exception. Whereunto another, ſtanding by, anſwered: Sir, let as many be placed as can be, and cauſe the laſt button to be made like the Caracter of &c. Now Godamercie with all my heart (quoth the Knight) for I would not haue giuen the *Cætera* of my friends for a milion of gold.

But to returne to the purpoſe, Theſe preſents and prayer being with great reuerence deliuered into her Maieſties owne hands, and he himſelfe diſarmed, offered vp his armour at the foot of her Maieſties crowned pillar; and kneeling vpon his knees, preſented the Earle of Cumberland, humbly beſeeching ſhe would be pleaſed to accept him for her Knight, to continue the yeerely exerciſes aforeſaid. Her Maieſty graciouſly accepting of that offer, this aged Knight armed the Earle, and mounted him vpon his horſe. That being done, he put vpon his owne perſon a ſide coat of blacke veluet pointed vnder the arme, and couered his head (in liew of an helmet) with a buttoned cap of the countrey faſhion.

After all theſe ceremonies, for diuers dayes he ware vpon his cloake a crowne embrodered, with a certaine motto or deuice, but what his intention therein was, himſelfe beſt knoweth.

Now to conclude the matter of aſſignation, you ſhall vnderſtand, that this noble Gentleman by her Maieſties expreſſe commandement, is yeerely (without reſpect vnto his age) perſonally

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perſonally preſent at theſe military exerciſes, there to ſee, ſuruey, and as one moſt carefull and ſkilfull to direct them; for indeed his vertue and valour in arms is ſuch as deſerueth to command. And touching that point, I will let you know the opinion of *Mounſieur de Champany*, a gentleman of great experience and notable obſeruation, who at his beeing Embaſſadour in England for cauſes of the Low Countreys, and writing to his friends there, in one of his intercepted letters, among other occurrents theſe words were found: "I was (quoth he) one day by Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* Captaine of her Maieſties guard inuited to Eltham, an houſe of the Queenes, whereof he was the guardian: at which time I heard and ſaw three things that in all my trauel of France, Italy and Spaine, I neuer heard or ſaw the like. The firſt was a conſort of muſicke, ſo excellent and ſweet as cannot be expreſſed. The ſecond a courſe at a bucke with the beſt and moſt beautifull greyhounds that euer I did behold. And the third a man of armes excellently mounted, richly armed, and indeed the moſt accompliſhed *Caueliero* I had euer ſeene. This Knight was called Sir *Henrie Lea*, who that day (accompanied with other gentlemen of the Court) onely to doe me honour, vouchſafed at my returne to Greenwich to breake certaine lances: which action was performed with great dexterity and commendation." Thus much was the ſubſtance (and well neere the whole circumſtance) of Sir *Henry Lea* his laſt taking of armes: wherein he ſeemed to imitate

imitate the auncient Romanes, who hauing ſerued a conuenient time, and claiming the priuiledges due to old ſouldiers (whome they called *Emeriti*) did come into *Campo Martio*, euery man leading his owne horſe; and there offered his armes vnto *Mars* in preſence of the chiefe Magiſtrates: which ceremony, *Scipio*, *Caſſius*, the great *Pompey*, with many other noble Captaines, diſdained not to doe.

Summarily, theſe annual Actions haue bene moſt nobly perfourmed (according to their times) by one Duke, 19 Earles, 27 Barons, 4 Knights of the Garter, and aboue 150 other Knights and Eſquiers.

FINIS.

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MISCELLANEOUS

ANTIQUITIES;

OR,

A COLLECTION OF

CURIOUS PAPERS:

Either republiſhed from SCARCE TRACTS, or now firſt printed from ORIGINAL MSS.

NUMBER II.

TO BE CONTINUED OCCASIONALLY.

Invenies illic et feſta domeſtica vobis.
Sæpe tibi Pater eſt, ſæpe legendus Avus.

OVID. Faſt. lib. I.

STRAWBERRY-HILL:
PRINTED BY THOMAS KIRGATE, M.DCC.LXXII.

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Miſcellaneous Antiquities.

NUMBER II.

Life of Sir THOMAS WYAT, the elder.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following papers of Sir Thomas Wyat were copied by Mr. Gray from the originals in the Harleiam collection, now in the Britiſh Muſeum. The Parnaſſian Flame that had prophecied from the mouth of the Bards, could condeſcend to be a tranſcriber. In this inſtance his labour was the homage of juſtice paid to a genius, his predeceſſor. What Mr. Gray thought worth copying, who will not think worth reading?

Hitherto Sir Thomas Wyat has been little known but as a poet. His ſpeech on his defence will ſhow him an orator; his letters, a ſtateſman; in both he was a maſter. Yet with all theſe merits his real ſtory remains in the dark, ſo obſcurely has it been told. The cauſe of his misfortunes we find only hinted at; that of his death related diverſly. Having collected

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collected every ſcattered paſſage that regards him, I ſhall endeavour by comparing them, to preſent the reader with the cleareſt ſketch that I can form of his life and character. If his cotemporaries have tranſmitted to us but inſufficient memorials, or if time and accident have deſtroyed more authentic teſtimonies, we can only blame the negligence or lament the loſs. He deſerved a better hiſtorian: all I pretend to, is to place a ſtone over what I could recover of his diſperſed aſhes.

Sir THOMAS WYAT, the elder,

WAS born in the year 1503 at Allyngton-Caſtle in Kent,* which reſidence, ſays Fuller, he afterwards repaired with moſt beautiful buildings. His family was ancient and † honourable----a circumſtance I mention to his glory, only becauſe he did not think it a diſpenſation from every other kind of merit. His mother's name was ‡ Anne Skinner; his father was Sir Henry Wyat, who Ant. à Wood tells us was a Knight and Baronet----a piteous miſtake in a profeſſed antiquary, who ought to have known that Baronets were firſt created by James I. Sir Henry was of the privy council to Henry VII. whoſe penetration in chuſing his miniſters was more admirable than the ſervices in which he employed

* Fuller's Worthies in Kent, p. 81.

† Ex illuſtri proſapiâ, ſays Bale.

‡ Wood's Athenæ, vol. 1, col. 56.

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of them. One of the laſt offices in which Sir Henry was * truſted by him, was in conducting to the Tower, in concert with Sir John Wiltſhire comptroller of Calais, that unfortunate † Prince Edmund de la Pole Earl of Suffolk, whom Henry the King had baſely extorted from Philip King of Caſtile, his gueſt, and as perfidiouſly conſigned to execution with his dying breath. Wyat was continued of the council by Henry VIII. and either by the father or ſon appointed maſter of the jewel-office. That he held that poſt under the latter appears by a book which was ‡ ſhown to the Antiquarian Society by Mr. Wiſe, one of their members, June 22, 1734. It was the original account of the king's jewels, every leaf being ſigned with Henry's own hand, and was intituled "A Vewe and accomptis of all and ſingular the Kinges Jewellis, ſtone, perle, plate of golde and of ſilver, in the cuſtodye and kepynge of Sir Henry Wyat Maiſter of the Kinges Jewellis, as well touching all and every parcellis by him receyved to the Kinges uſe and iſſuynge out of the ſame, as alſo ſuch plate as is in the charge of ſuch officers of the Kinges moſt honourable houſholde and other by indenture, and the true poyz and waight of every parcel of the ſame, taken by the Rt. rev^d. Father in God John Archbp. of Armachan, Maiſter Thomas Magnus Archdeacon of Eſt-

* Stowe's Chron. 486.

† He was ſon of Elizabeth Ducheſs of Suffolk, ſiſter of King Edward IV.

‡ From the minutes of the ſociety.

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riding, and Sir Wm. Kingſton Kt. deputed commiſſioners by the Kinges highneſs for the ſame purpoſe the 14 daye of February the XII year of our ſoveraine Lorde Kinge Henry the VIII."

Of Sir Henry I find but two more notices. Stowe ſays,* that at the coronation of Anne Boleyn, Thomas Wyat was choſen Ewerer for Sir Henry Wyat, his father. As maſter of the jewel-office it was probably his duty to ſerve the Queen with the ewer to waſh; and his ſon executing the office for him, ſeems to imply that the father was too aged to attend ſuch a ceremony. The other circumſtance I alluded to, hangs ſolely on a tradition in the family, of which I find this notice in Vertue's MSS. collections. He was acquainted with a Mr. Wyat who lived in Charterhouſe-yard, and was the repreſentative deſcendent of that reſpectable family. In 1721 and at other times Vertue ſaw at that gentleman's houſe † portraits of his anceſtors for ſeven deſcents, and other pictures and ancient curioſities. Among the reſt were heads of Sir

* Stowe, p. 566. Of that coronation it is remarkable that Archbiſhop Cranmer alone ſat at the table with the Queen, while the Counteſſes of Oxford and Worceſter ſtood all the time. Some other little circumſtances may be alſo noted. Counteſſes wore plain circles of gold without flowers. Two maids ſat *under* the table at the Queen's feet during dinner; and the two attendant Counteſſes "did hold a fine cloth before the Queene's face, when ſhe liſt to ſpit or doe otherwiſe at her pleaſure." *Stowe, ib.*

† It would be fortunate if mention of theſe pictures ſhould lead to the knowledge of the perſon who now poſſeſſes them.

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Sir Thomas Wyat, and of Anne Boleyn, in rounds on board: of George Wyat, the ſon of the younger Sir Thomas; of Sir Francis Wyat, by Iſaac Oliver, and of Edmund Wyat ſerjeant at law, drawn by Sir Godfrey Kneller in 1686. There was beſides the picture of Sir Henry Wyat of whom I have been ſpeaking, painted in a furr gown with a chain of gold about his neck, in the manner of Holbein. Mr. Wyat told Vertue, that Sir Henry being priſoner in the Tower, was preſerved from being ſtarved by his cat who brought him a pidgeon. Of this impriſonment I can diſcover no trace or record. Whether tradition has confounded the father with the ſon, who certainly fell under the diſpleaſure of the King, or whether the father was involved in his ſon's diſgrace, I cannot pretend to decide; but that a ſtory of ſome vogue relative to the latter is confounded, [as I ſhall ſhow hereafter] may be conjectured from another curioſity in Mr. Wyat's poſſeſſion, which I ſhall mention, when I come to diſcuſs the caſe of Sir Thomas Wyat. Were encomiums in epitaphs authority, I might quote what is ſaid of Sir Henry on the tomb of Sir Henry Lee, who married his daughter Margaret, where her father is ſtyled "that faithful and conſtant ſervant and counſellor to the two kings of famous memory, Henry VII. and VIII." and where that valiant Knight * Sir Henry Lee

* Vide N°. I. of this work; and the epitaph of Sir Henry Lee in Collins's Peerage, under Earls of Litchfield.

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Lee is ſaid to have been educated by his highly honourable uncle Sir Thomas Wiat at Allington-caſtle---but ſeeking truth, I ſhall not hunt it in panegyrics. I now paſs to the Son.

Where he received the rudiments of that excellent education which adorned his retired and illuſtrated his political life, we are not told. From Bale we know that he was of St. John's college at Cambridge, and Antony à Wood, ambitious that Oxford ſhould have pretenſions to him too, has enrolled him of that univerſity, on the ſlight ground of Wyat's going thither to hear the new lectures which Cardinal Wolſey had juſt founded. He then travelled, and probably to Italy, being one of the firſt, if not the * firſt, who introduced the numbers uſed by the poets of that country into his own. That he had drunk deeply at the claſſic founts of ancient poeſy, appeared in his Latin tranſlations: the ſofter elegance of the Italian aſſiſted him in refining our tongue; and he poliſhed the language of the court, inſtead of imbibing politeneſs from it. Camden ſays he was ſplendidè doctus; †Aſcham, that he was one of the beſt tranſlators of the Latin poets of the age he lived in; and ‡ Wood calls him the delight of the muſes

* Leland calls Lord Surrey the conſcript heir of Wyat: a proof of the latter's precedence.

† Upton, p. 184, 1711.

‡ Athenæ, vol. 1, col. 56.

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muſes and of mankind. Leland * publiſhed a book of elegies on his death. His brave and accompliſhed friend lord Surrey † compoſed an epitaph for him, and Sir Thomas Chaloner, one of the luminaries of that half ſavage, half Auguſtan age, another: both in verſe. Sir John Maſon, Chancellor of Oxford, wrote one in proſe.

Yet did not theſe engaging purſuits, nor even his ſucceſs in them, abſorb his mind in indolent delights. His ſoul was vigorous, his genius manly; and while his purpoſe was to poliſh his country, he meant to be fit to ſerve it with his ſword or his councils. We ‡ are aſſured that he was ſkilled in the military arts of that age; his employments, his letters, his orations, ſpeak how able a ſtateſman he was, how acute an orator. Wood records his valour and the manly beauty of his perſon.§

* It is called Nænia. There is prefixed to it Sir Thomas's portrait cut in wood, with a very long beard. Wood ſays it was done by a Dutchman, commonly called Hans Holbein. Mr. Tyſon, of Bennet-college Cambridge, has copied it.

† Lord Surrey made an encomium on his tranſlation of the Pſalter.

‡ By Wood ubi ſupra.

§ By the name of Thomas Wiat Eſquire of the houſhold he was one of a noble company "that entreprized a challenge of feats of armes againſt the feaſt of Chriſtmas," which they performed at Greenwich, and in which the king himſelf took a part. See the account of that tournament in Hall's Chronicle, the 16th year of Henry VIII. p. 133.

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With ſuch parts, with ſuch improvements, and with a ſhrewdneſs of wit, of which ſome inſtances are preſerved, no wonder he ingratiated himſelf with his maſter, who was perſonally brave, had ſome taſte for letters, and who, with all his faults, was certainly not apt to have a fool for his favourite. Wyat had ſo much intereſt with Henry VIII. and ſo ready was that King to receive his recommendations, that when a man was newly preferred,* it was uſual to ſay, *that he had been in Sir Thomas Wyat's cloſet.*----A phraſe, that without much refinement we may conclude implies how liberally and zealouſly he made uſe of his credit to ſerve his friends. Nor was his favour marked only by his patronage of others. Henry, after knighting, ſhowered down graces on him---Lands,† which his Majeſty dealt profuſely to his courtiers, after having raviſhed them from the holy locuſts that had engroſſed them, were beſtowed on Wyat amongſt others: and embaſſies were heaped on embaſſies, even ‡ beyond his wiſh, as he owns in his defence. Let the few of his diſpatches that remain, ſpeak how judiciouſly they were conferred.

Young

* Loyd.

† It is uncertain whether Leland means Sir Henry or Sir Thomas Wyat, where he ſpeaks of "Maſtar Wyat who hathe now bought the lordeſhipe of Ailesford in Kent." *Itin. vol.* 8, *p.* 92.

‡ He was accuſed of having wiſhed that the king had ſent him to Newgate rather than on an embaſſy abroad. *See his defence.*

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Young, favoured, truſted, a charming poet, an admired wit, an accompliſhed ſcholar, the ornament of his native court, and figuring in thoſe of the galant Francis the Firſt, and the ſagacious Charles V. could ambition, ſelf-love or vanity aſpire to a brighter poſition? But tempeſts ever growled round Henry's palace; and weatherwiſe and crouching indeed were ſuch of his miniſters or ſuch of his favourites as rode out the frequent ſtorms. A man accuſtomed to hear his bons mots applauded, was not the moſt likely to uſe his diſcretion: with artful ingenuity Sir Thomas owns in his defence that his ſayings, though perverted to a worſe ſenſe, were turned againſt him. From that oration it appears clearly that he was twice in diſgrace. The cauſes of his ſecond impriſonment he details in his defence, of which I ſhall ſay more anon. The grounds of the firſt have, I think, been miſrepreſented, and as the accounts diſagree, I will ſtate, and after comparing them, ſhow from better authority that they were probably adopted from random tradition.

Fuller, in his * Worthies of Kent, ſays, "He [Sir T. Wyat] fell, as I have heard, into King Henry's diſfavour, about the buſineſs of Queen Anna Bullen, till by his induſtry, innocence and diſcretion, he extricated himſelf."

David Loyd, in his † State-Worthies, expreſſes himſelf thus in the life of Sir Thomas; "Queen Anne's favour towards

* Page 81.

† Page 77, edit. of 1679.

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wards him raiſed this man; and his faithfulneſs to her ruined him."

There is yet another author who tells a third ſtory, different from theſe, and in all probability ſtill worſe founded, though he wrote nearer to the epoch in queſtion; but the vicinity of time being coupled with prejudices both of religion and party, renders the authority more queſtionable than that of two collectors of anecdotes.

In the Gloſſary, p. 641, vol. 2, at the end of Peter Langtoft's Chronicle mention is made of a hiſtory in MS. by *Dr. Nicholas Harpsfield, where among other paſſages of ſecret hiſtory it is ſaid, that Sir Thomas Wyat confeſſed to Henry VIII. that he had debauched Anne Bullen, before the king had any thoughts of eſpouſing her, and therefore diſſuaded him from that purpoſe.

I muſt obſerve, that Dr. N. Harpsfield, a zealous catholic, was impriſoned 20 years for denying Queen Elizabeth's ſupremacy; and when we recollect the ſcandalous latitude which the bigotted writers of that age allowed themſelves in ſpeaking of Henry, Anne Boleyn, and their daughter, we may well believe that perſonal ſufferings had ſharpened the pen of this monkiſh writer, and hurried it into unwarrantable falſhood. Amongſt all the imputations caſt on Queen Anne's;

* He was principal of an ancient hoſtle at Oxford, called White-Hall. *Wood's Athen. vol.* 1, *col.* 214.

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Anne's chaſtity, this obſcure ſlanderer is the only one that lays Wyat to her charge, and yet perhaps was the author of the reports that reached Fuller and Loyd through different mediums.*

Were Harpsfield's legend true, Wyat loſt the King's favour *by want of innocence and diſcretion*, rather than recovered it, as Fuller ſays, by exerting them. And if he made the confeſſion above-mentioned, it is ſtill leſs probable that he roſe by Queen Anne's favour. Did ſhe reward him for aſperſing her? Did Henry promote him as a reward of that confidence? That he was attached to Anne Boleyn, I have no doubt. Vertue ſaw in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Wyat in Charterhouſe-Yard, above-named, beſides the portraits, one of which repreſented that Queen, a ſmall prayer-book MS. in vellum, ſet in gold enamelled black, which ſhe gave at her execution to her Maid of Honour Mrs. Wyat, ſiſter probably of Sir Thomas: this will confirm his connection with her, but deſtroys the tale of his improper familiarity and confeſſion---but to ſet aſide at once the whole ſtory of his diſgrace ariſing in any ſort from the Queen, hear his own account of it. In the following oration he expreſsly imputes his firſt impriſonment to Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, who had

* As I have met with an obſcure but curious paſſage relating to the caſe of Queen Anne Boleyn, which with remarks neceſſary would be too long for a note, I ſhall inſert what I have to ſay on that ſubject, by way of appendix to this life.

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done him ill offices; and declares he never aſcribed it to *the King's Highneſs*. Not a word of the Queen; nor can a vague imputation of malice in the favourite duke be ſuppoſed to include any buſineſs ſo ſerious as the affair of Anne Boleyn. That his ſecond diſgrace had, could have no relation to her, appears not only from his anſwers to the ſpecific charges againſt him, but from the point of time, that diſgrace happening after the death of Cromwell Earl of Eſſex. Thus his firſt misfortune flowed from a court-cabal, the ſecond from the villainy, jealouſy, and falſe accuſation of that wretch Bonner, Biſhop of London, whoſe clowniſh manners, lewd behaviour, want of religion, and malicious perverſion of truth, Sir Thomas paints with equal humour and aſperity. Bonner, that torturing inquiſitor of a ſubſequent reign, had even the impudence to accuſe Wyat of being too *papiſhe*. It ſeems indeed by Sir Thomas's own account, that he was no bigot, but thought men ought to obſerve the decencies of the religion they profeſſed. Thus he cenſures Bonner's neglect of the maſs, and declares that while they were in France he himſelf exhorted his companions to appear at church, leſt, * being reputed Lutherans, they ſhould give ſcandal. Conſidering how ambiguous Henry had made his

* This I take to be the ſenſe of the paſſage in his defence, which is not clear. Yet in Spain Sir Thomas had been ſo far from uſing the ſame diſcretion, that, as he tells us himſelf, he had been in danger from the inquiſition.

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his religion, it is not to be wondered at that two politicians ſhould have ſeemed to act in contradiction to their belief, at leaſt, to the ſect they adhered to. Bonner affected zeal againſt popery, becauſe, if he was any thing, he was a papiſt. Wyat, more a proteſtant, was cautious of offending the catholic court at which he reſided: and, ſenſible that his maſter was but a rebel to his own opinions, was not ſorry to retaliate on Bonner, by rendering the latter's orthodoxy ſuſpected to the King. Henry's contradictions made more men than Wyat and Bonner diſſemble; and the more his miniſters were attached to either religion, the more their conſcious fears made them affect the oppoſite extreme. In that and the three ſucceeding reigns good courtiers changed their religion *four* times.

Whatever was the calumny with which Suffolk loaded Sir Thomas Wyat, it is certain that he entirely recovered the King's favour, and was ſent embaſſador to the Emperor: and when that Prince entered into perſonal treaty with Francis the Firſt, by the intervention of the Pope who paſſed into France for that purpoſe, Sir Thomas was inſtructed to keep a ſtrict eye on what ſhould paſs in that negociation. After it was concluded, and Charles intended to paſs through France on his way to Flanders, Wyat in conjunction with Bonner and Mr. Maſon had letters of credence both to the King and the Emperor. Bonner, who in the execution of that

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that commiſſion had conceived jealouſy of Wyat, and * diſguſts at the contempt which the latter felt, and from his vivacity, probably expreſſed for him, returning before Wyat to England, accuſed him on various heads, which were diſcuſſed in council, treated as frivolous, and not reſented by the King, though one point was maliciouſly calculated to make the deepeſt impreſſion on Henry's unpardoning temper: it was a charge of holding a treaſonable correſpondence with Cardinal Pole. Sir Thomas informed of theſe black machinations, begged to be recalled and put upon his trial. He came over and preſſed to be heard on his defence, though Cromwell Earl of Eſſex, the then all-powerful miniſter, adviſed him to overlook what was paſſed, and not to puſh the matter any farther. A generous proceeding to Wyat, who had refuſed to be Cromwell's ſpy on Biſhop Gardiner, or partiality to Bonner who had accepted that office, and was likely to be brought to ſhame by the diſcuſſion. That Cromwell really proved his friend is probable, for inſtead of trial or diſgrace, Sir Thomas was rewarded with land, and recommanded to his attendance † on the Emperor; and it was not till after that great miniſter's death, and Wyat's return again, that

* Bonner ſuſpected Wyat's having prevented his receiving a preſent from the Emperor.

† He was told, he was uſed for the neceſſity there was of his ſervices. After his impriſonment he was made Sheriff of Kent, and being of noted valour, employed againſt the rebels.

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that he was committed to the Tower, and then brought to his trial for treaſon.

The only charges of importance, were that of connection with Pole, and ſome hypothetical words on the King's ſupremacy---yet *ifs* and *ands* were terrible articles in an indictment in ſuch a reign. Theſe accuſations, as the reader will ſee, he repels with equal frankneſs and dexterity. The reſt are impertinent and trifling; ſome calculated to defame him; others arrogantly grounded on his perſonal differences with his accuſers, Bonner and his chaplain. All that gives colour to any part of the charge is, the petulance of Sir Thomas's wit. He ſeems to have guarded his words with little circumſpection, while his enemies noted and treaſured them up with due attention.

He ſeems to have been tried by a jury before a committee of lords of the council. Clear as his defence is, we ſhould not be juſtified in preſuming from thence that he was acquitted, though he artfully inſinuates to the jurats that the peers who tried * Lord Dacre had dared to find a verdict in his favour. But there is better evidence of his acquittal, from the ſilence of hiſtorians, and from his having been again employed.

* Vide note to a paſſage relating to the caſe of Lord Dacre in Sir Thomas Wyat's enſuing oration. P. 25.

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Weaver ſays he was going to Spain; others, that he was only ordered to receive the Emperor's * Embaſſador at Falmouth. Whatever the commiſſion was, it proved fatal. Riding poſt in the heat of ſummer, he was attacked with a malignant fever, which carried him off at † Shireburne in Dorſetſhire in the year 1541, when he had not compleated the 38th year of his age. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Brook Lord Cobham, by whom he was father of the unfortunate Sir Thomas Wyat, executed in the reign of Queen Mary.

His works that remain, which, in a life no longer and ſo buſily employed, could not well be many, are a few ſongs and poems, printed with thoſe of his entire friend the Earl of Surrey; the penitential Pſalms in Engliſh metre, and the whole ‡ Pſalter of David; his Defence on his trial, and ſome of his Diſpatches during his embaſſy in France.

But as his celebrity aroſe not ſolely from his poetry or political talents, but from the acuteneſs of his wit, I will mention one or two inſtances preſerved by Loyd, who compli-

ments

* Wood ſays he was conducting Montmorency to France; but it is not probable that Montmorency went to France through Dorſetſhire.

† He was buried there.

‡ I do not know whether theſe tranſlations were ever entirely printed, but I find in Ames's Catalogue of Engliſh Painters, p. 511, that ſome of his pſalms were inſerted in an edition of thoſe by Sternhold.

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ments him with more caution in his jeſts than he ſeems to have deſerved, and who imputes more important conſequences to his repartees than have often fallen to the lot of wits. According to Loyd, Sir Thomas Wyat commenced the reformation by a bon mot, and planned the fall of Wolſey by an appoſite ſtory. It was an apologue of curs baiting the butcher's dog, but the particulars are not told us. The other was a ſhort reflection well expreſſed. Henry was lamenting the Pope's dilatorineſs in the affair of the divorce---"Lord! ſaid Wyat, that a man cannot repent him of his ſin, but by the Pope's leave!" He expreſſed as concisely very ſound advice on church-lands; and if the policy of diſperſing thoſe lands among the nobility and gentry was embraced from that apothegm, Sir Thomas Wyat may juſtly be ſaid to have placed the key-ſtone of the reformation, which holds the whole fabric together. Henry was afraid of ſeizing the eſtates of the popiſh clergy: "Butter the rooks neſts, ſaid Sir Thomas, and they will never trouble you." This, we are informed, meant, "ſell and give their lands to conſiderable families, whoſe intereſt it will become to prevent the re-eſtabliſhment of the Roman religion." I am glad we are told the meaning, for in truth I ſhould not have underſtood the phraſe---with its comment, it deſerves remembrance.

His ſon Sir Thomas Wyat, called the younger, inherited his ſpirit, was a warmer champion of the reformation, and a true

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a true patriot, with ſtill leſs regard for his perſonal ſafety than his father had. He was ſheriff of Kent in the 4th year of Edward VI. and ſeems to have ſucceeded to his father's conſideration: at leaſt I find a * book dedicated to him; a homage I believe ſeldom paid in that early age of printing but to perſons of eminent rank. He married Jane, daughter and coheireſs of Sir William Hawte of Bourn, by whom he had a ſon George, who was reſtored in the 13th. of Elizabeth: a circumſtance that caſts a little farther doubt on the doubtful ſtory of the father's accuſing the Princeſs Elizabeth and the Earl of Devonſhire of being dipped in his revolt.

The great merit of the elder Sir Thomas demanded the foregoing diſcuſſion; yet his own oration will undoubtedly give the reader more ſatisfation than the very limited ſucceſs that has attended the pains taken to clear up his ſtory. It would be unjuſt therefore to delay that entertainment any longer.

* Ames, 217.

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Sir THOMAS WYAT's DEFENCE, after the Indictement and Evidence.

MY Lordis, yf yt were here the lawe, as hath byn in ſome comen welthes, that in all accuſations the defendaunte ſhulde have doble the tyme to ſaye and defende, that th' Accuſars have in making there accuſements; and yt the Defendante myght detayne unto hym councell, as in Fraunce, or where the civile lawe is uſede; then myght I well ſpare ſome of my leaſure to move your Ldſhip's harts to be favorable unto me; then myght I by councell helpe my trouthe, wch by myne owne witt I am not able agaynſte ſuch a prepared thynge. but in asmuch as that tyme, that your Ldſhips woll favorably give me without interruption, I muſt ſpende to inſtruct without help of councell there conſciences, that muſt pronounce upon me: I beſeche you onlye (att the reverence of God, whoſe place in judgement you occupie under the King's Majeſty, and whom you ought to have, whear you are, before your eyes) that you be not bothe my Judges and my Accuſars, that is to ſay, that you aggravate not my cawſe unto the Queſte, but that alone unto theire requeſts or unto myne, which I ſuppoſe to be bothe ignorant in the lawe, ye interprete lawe fyncerely. for altho it be theſe Men, yt muſt pronounce uppone me: yet I knowe right

well, what a ſmale worde may of anye of your mouthes, that ſytte in your place, to theſe mene, that ſekethe lyght at your handes. this done (with your L^dp's leaves) I ſhall convert my tale unto thoſe mene. I ſaye unto you, my good Maiſters and chriſtian Brotherene, that yf I might have had ſuch helpe, as I ſpake of to my Lordes before, councell and tyme, I doubte not but I ſhulde fullye have ſatisfied your conſcience, and have perſuaded you. nor I meane no ſuche tyme, as hathe byn had for the inventing, for the ſetting fourthe, for the Indictmente, for devyſement of the dilatinge of y^e matters by my Maiſters here of the Kings M^y's learned councell; for yt is 3 yeres y^t this matter is firſt begone: but I wolde have wyſhed onlye ſo much time, that I myght have redde that they have penned; and penned ſo, that you myght rede. but that may not be. therefore I muſt aunſwer directely to th' accuſation, w^ch will be harde for me to remember; th' accuſation comprehending the indictment, and all theſe worſhipful mens tales annexed thereunto. the length whearof, the conninge whereof, made by lerned Men, weavyd in and owte to perſwade you and trouble me here and there, to ſeke to aunſwere y^t is in tone afore and in tother behynde, may both deceave you and amaſe me, yf God put not in your heads honeſt wyſdome to waye theſe thynge as muche, as yt ought to be. to avoyde the dynger of your forgettinge, and my trouble in the declaration, it is neceſſarie to

to gether the whole proceſſe into *theſe* Chyfe poynts, and unto them to aunſwer directlie, whereby ye ſhall perceave, what be the principells, and what be th' effectes, w^ch^ theſe Men craftely and wyttinglie have weaved togither, that a ſymple Man might hardlie trye the tone from the tother.

Surelie, but that I underſtonde myne own matter, I ſhulde be to myche to ſeke & acombred in yt. but, Maiſters, this is more of lawe then of equite, of livinge then of uprightneſs, with ſuch intricate appearances to blynde mens conſciens; ſpeciallie in caſe of man's lyf, whear alwaye the naked trouthe is the goodlyeſte perſwaſion. but to purpoſe of the poynts, that I am accuſed of to my preavinge. theſe be the 2 marks, whear unto myn accuſars directe all ther ſhott of eloquence, a dede, and a ſayinge. after this ſorte in effecte is the dede, alleyed with ſo longe words: Wiatt in ſo great truſte with the King's Maj:y, that he made him his Imbaſſadoure, and for whom his Maj:y hathe done ſo much, beinge Imbaſſadoure hathe had intelligens with the Kings rebell and traytor *Pole*. touchinge the ſayeinge amountethe to this muche; that ſame Wiatt beinge allſo Imbaſſadoure malicioufly, falſely, and traytourely ſaide, y^t^ he ſeryd, that the kinge ſhulde be caſt owte of a Curtes arſe; and that by goddis bloude, yf he were ſo, he were well ſerved, and he wolde he were ſo. the ſole apparell of the reſte of all this proceſſe pertaynethe to the proffes of tone or tother of theſe

2 poynts.

2 poynts. but if theſe 2 poynts appere unto you to be more then falſe, malicioufly invented, craftylye dyſguiſed, and worſe ſette forthe, I doute not, I doute not, but the reſte of there proffes will be but reproffes in everye honeſt mans judgemente. but let us come to the matter; and here I beſyke you, yf any of you have broughte wyth you all reddie my Judgement by reaſone of ſuch tales as ye have harde of me abrode, yt ye will leave all ſuche determination aſyde, and onlye waye the matter, as yt ſhall be here apparent unto you. and beſyde that, thinke, I beſyke you, yt, yf yt be ſufficiente for ye condemnation of anye mane to be accuſyd only, yt then there is no mane gilteles: but yf for condemnation is requiſyte prof and declaration, then tayke me as yet not condemned, tell throughly, advyſedly, and ſubſtantially, ye have harde and marked my tale. fyrſte you muſte underſtonde, yt my maiſters here, ſergeaunte ....and other of the Kings councell, that allegge here agaynſt me, were never beyond the See with me, that I remembre; theye never harde me ſaye any ſuche words there, never ſawe me have anye intelligens with Pole, nor my Indytours nother. whear in you muſt marke, that nother theſe mene, wch tauke here unſworne, nor th endytement at large, is to be regarded as an evidens; for the Indytours have founde, yt I have done yt. yf that be trewe, what nede your tryall? but yf Queſtes feche there lyght at Indictments at large, then is a mane condemned unherde;

herde: then hade my Lord Dacres * byne founde giltie, for he was indyted at large by 4 or 5 queſts: lyke was his matter avowed, affirmyd, and aggravated by an helpe of learned mene. but on all this the honorable and wyſe nobylitie dyd not ons loke; they loked at the evidens, in wche (I ſuppoſe) theie wayede the malice of his accuſars, the unlyklyhode of the thynges hangyng together, and cheflye of all, the ſubſtaunce of ye matter and the profes. who then accuſed me, that ever he harde me, or ſawe me, or knewe me to have intelligence with Pole by worde, wrytinge, or meſſage to or fro? no mane. whye ſo? for ther is in ſuche thyngs. whye art thou brought hithere? then yt is but a bare condemnation to ſay, yf I had not offended, I hade not byne hithere, that was ther ſayinge agaynſte Chriſt, yt hade nothing to ſay agaynſt him els. but then is other matter for proffes hereof agaynſte me, there is the right reverende fathere in god the

G byſhoppe

* William Dacres, Lord Dacres of the North (or of Gillesland) July 9, 1534, was arraigned at Weſtminſter of high treaſon, but as the principal witneſſes produced againſt him by his accuſers, Sir Ralph Fenwick and one Muſgrave, were ſome mean and provoked Scotſmen, ſo his Peers acquitted him, as believing they not only ſpoke maliciouſly, but might be eaſily ſuborned againſt him, as one who having been Warden of the Marches by frequent inroads had done much harm in that country. And thus eſcaped that Lord to his no little honour and his Judge's, as giving example thereby how Perſons of great quality brought to their tryal are not ſo neceſſarily condemn'd, but that they ſometimes may eſcape, when they obtain an equal hearing. *Lord Herbert, p. 299.*

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byſhoppe of London, and Mr. Doctor Haynes the Kings Chaplayne, yt depoſe agaynſt me. what ſayeſt thou to this Wiatt? theſe men were beyonde the ſee *with* the, (whear thou ſayeſte, yt nother thie Indytours, nor we were there) theſe men of lerninge, of gravite, yt were Imbaſſadours wyth the to. to this I ſaye, this worde Intelligens concludethe a familiaritie or conferringe of divyſes together, wch may be by worde, meſſage, or wrytinge, wche the lawe forbiddythe to be had wth anye the Kings traytours, or rebells, payne of the lyke. reherſe the lawe. declare, my Lords, I beſeke you, the meaninge therof. am I a traytor, becauſe I ſpake with the Kings traytor? no, not for that. for I may byd him avaunte, traytor; or defie him traytor. no mane will tayke this for treaſon: but where he is holpen, counceled, advertyſed, by my worde, there lyethe the treaſone, there lyethe the treaſone. in wrytinge, it is like; in meſſage, it is like: for I may ſende him bothe lettre and meſſage of chalinge or defyance; but in anye of theſe the ſuſpecte is daungerous. therfore, who ſo ever wolde do anye of theſe thyngs, I wolde advyſe him, yt yt appere well. and yet nother Godds lawe, nor Mans lawe, nor no equite, condemnethe a man for ſuſpecte: but for ſuch a ſuſpecte, ſuch a word, or wrytinge, *that* may be ſo apparent by *conjectours*, or ſucceſe of thyngs afterwarde, by vehemente lykelyhodes, by conferringe of thynges, and ſuche lyke, yt yt may be a grevous:

vous matter. but whereto do I declare this poynt? it is far owte of my caſe. for yf I ever ſpake worde to hym by yonde the ſee (and yet to my remembrauns but ons a this ſyde) or yf ever I wrote to hym, or yf ever I ſent hym worde or meſſage, I confeſſe the action; lett it be imputed to me for treaſone. I ſay not of worde, meſſage, or wrytinge, that ſhulde be abettinge, aydinge, comfortinge, or advertyſement, but anye at all, but onlye bye his Servaunte Froginton at S. Daves in Fraunce, wch was in refuſal of a preſent, that he wolde have ſente me of wyne and of other gere, of wch thyng I advertyſed, and yt appered by my lettres, how the matter went; and there was preſent Chambers, Knowles, Mantell, Blage, and Maſon, yt harde what pleaſaunte wordes I chereſhed him withall. here were a grete matter to blere yr eyes withall, (ſay my accuſars) yf you wolde believe Wiatt, yt is not aſhamed to lye ſo manifeſtlye in Judgement. dydeſte thou not ſende Maſon unto hym at Nice? haſt thou not confeſſyd it thyſelf? hath not Maſon confeſſyd it? hath not the byſhope of London accuſed the therof? for ſothe never a whytte. nethere ſent I Maſon, nor have confeſſed that, nor Maſon ſo confeſſethe, nor (I ſuppoſe) nether of my accuſars do ſo alledge. cawle for them, Bonar and Haynes: their ſpiritualitie lettethe not them from Judgemente owte of the Kyngs courte. let them be ſworne. ther ſayinge is, yt Maſon ſpake with Pole at Genes. here do not theie

theie accuſe me, theie accuſe Maſone. call forthe Maſon, ſwere hym. he is defendaunt, his othe can not be taken. what ſayethe he at the leſte? he ſayethe, that Bonar, Haynes, and Wiatt, being all thre the King's Imbaſſadours at *Villa-Franka beſyde Nice, that ſam Wiatt, being in great care for Intelligence howe the matters went there in great cloſenes, (being an Emperor, a Frenche King, a Byſhope of Rome ſo nyghe together, yt all theſe laye within 4 myles, treatinge upon a concluſion of peace by the hands and meanes of a Byſhope of Rome, the Kings mortall enemie; Pole allſo, hys traytour, beinge ther practyſinge agaynſt the Kg,) the ſaid Wiatt at a dynner devyſed and aſked, what yf Maſon dyd undermyne Pole to looke yf he culde ſerche owte anye thynge of hym, that were worthe the Kyngs knowledge. wch then all thre thought gode, and he acceptyd hyt, when he ſhulde ſee hys tyme. doth Maſone here accuſe me, or confeſſethe, that I ſente hym on a meſſage? what worde gave I unto the, Maſon? what meſſage? I defye all familiarite and fryndſhipe betwexte us, ſay the worſte. my accuſars themſelfe ar accuſed in this tale, as well as I, yf

* The time and place of meeting were appointed at Nizza, about the beginning of June, 1538, where they all came, but ſo as the Emperor being lodged in Villa-Franca, and the French King in Villa-Nova, they neither ſaw one another in their ſeveral courts, nor at the Pope's at Nizza—nevertheleſs the Pope concluded a truce betwixt them for ten years, and ſo the meeting diſſolved. *Lord Herbert, p.* 374.

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yf this be treaſone; ye, and more, for where as I confeſſe franklie, knowinge both my conſcienſe and the thynge clere of treaſone; they, belyke myſtruſtinge themſelves, denie this. what they mene by denyinge of this, myniſter interrogatories. let them have ſuche 38, as were miniſtred unto me; and ther familiar frends examined in holde, and appere as well as I; and let us ſee, what milke theſe Mene wolde yelde. whie not? theie ar accuſed as well, as I: ſhall they be preveleged, bycawſe theie by ſuttell craft complayned fyrſte, wher I knowinge no hurte in the thynge dyd not complayne lykewyſe? but they ar 2. we ar alſo 2. as in ſpirituall courts mene ar wonte to purge there fames, lett us trie owr fames for owr honeſties, and we will give them odds. and yf the thyng be erneſtlie marked, theirs is negative, owrs is affirmative: owr othes ought to be receaved, their's in this poynt can not. I ſay farther, theie ar not the fyrſte openers of this matter, where by theie ought to be receaved: for what will theie ſay? Bonar wrote thys owte of Fraunce longe after he was gone from me owte of Spayne, and Haynes came home, where as He remayned Imbaſſadoure in Fraunce. but Maſon wrote this to the late Erle of Eſtſex from Genes, where he had ſpoken with Pole, forthewithe upon the ſpeakinge with him, I being here in Inglande: for afore was I come from Villa-franka, ſent to the emperor from the Kynge Majty in poſt. for what porpoſe, or what ſervice I

dyd,

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dyd, I knowe the Kings ma:te hathe eſtemed more then I will aſcribe unto my ſelfe; and yt ſhulde but occupie ye tyme, and inſtructe you lyttel the better in the matter. I ſaye then, Maſone wrote of thys unto th' Erle of Eſtſex, and unto me alſo, wche lettres never came to my hands, nor unto th' Erle of Eſtſex' hands nother all a yere after. and when Maſon was examined here upon the ſame a fore the Erle of Eſtſex, the Duke of Suffolke, and (as I remembre) the Byſhope of Durham, I beinge in Spayne, his papers and his thyngs were ſoughte and viſited; and where Maſon alledged theſe lettres ſente to th' Erle of Eſtſex, he ſwore he never receaved them; and in that ſerche was found the mynuit of the ſame lettre. and I thynke Maſon no ſuche foole, but in that lettre he reherſed, yt upon owr conſent he went to Pole, and ſo after what he dyd. upone thys ſo apparent was Maſone demiſſed, and long after came the lettres to th' Erle of Eſtſex' handys, and this dyd the Erle of Eſtſex tell me after my cominge home owte of Spayne; and (as fare as I remembre) I lerned yt of Mr. Bartlett, wch was th' Erle's ſervaunt, yt brought the minuit with Maſon's papers. this I ſay, for that paradventure the lettres cane not now befounde, yet let him ſaie, what he knowethe. ſo that it is not to be beleved, yt Maſone, then not beinge in dowte of anie accuſation, wolde have ſaid in his lettre, that he wente by th' Imbaſſadoures conſente, onles yt had byn ſo in dede.

therfore

therfore I ſaie, yf owr conſents in this be treaſone, then are theie in this as far in, as I; and ther negative requerethe prouffe, and nother othe nor deniall. and owr othes ar to be takein in the affirmative, and not therſe in ye negative. nor theie ar not to be receavyd as the fyrſte Openers, for Maſone wrote yt longe before them, and theie, belyke condemninge them ſelves in takinge yt to be treaſone, wolde falſelie lay yt unto us, that francklie confeſſe yt withowte thought of treaſone. but you may ſe, howe ther falſhede hangethe together. theſe men thynkythe yt ynoughe to accuſe, and as all theſe Sclaunderers uſe for a generall rule, whom thou loveſt not, accuſe: for tho he hele the wounde, yet the ſcharre ſhall remayne. but you will ſay unto me, what is it to theie declaration, whether they have offended, or no? thou confeſſeſte, yt thou conſenteſt to his going to the Kg's traytour. howe avoideſte thou that? what dydſte thou meane by that, or what auctorite haddeſte thou ſo to do? this is yt, that I wolde ye ſholde knowe, good maiſters, as well as God knowethe; and it ſhall be clere ynoughe anone withowte ſuſpecte unto you. but fyrſte yt ſuſpecte ſhulde have bene well and lawefullye grounded, before yt had come as fare as accuſation. yt ſhulde have bene proved Pole and me kynne, acquayntans, familiarite, or th'accorde of opinions, wherbie yt might appere, yt my conſent to Maſon's goinge to him ſhulde be for noughtye purpoſe. or els ther ſhulde have

have byn brought forthe ſum ſucceſſe ſens, ſum lettres (yf none of myne, at the leaſte of ſum others) ſum confeſſion of ſum of his adherents, that have bene examined or ſuffrede. but what, ther is none. whie ſo? thow ſhalte as ſone fynde owt gylt owt of a flynt-ſtone, as fynde any ſuche thynge in me. what I mente by yt, is declared unto you. yt was lyttel for my avayle. yt was to undermynde hym. yt was to be a ſpye upon hym. yt was to lerne an enemies councell. yf yt myht have byn, had yt bene owt of purpoſe, trowe you? I aunſwere now, as tho yt hade bene done on my owne hede withowt ye councell of two of ye Kyngs Councellors, and myſelfe alſo the thyrde; there is alſo myne auctorite. I have receavyd often thanks from the Kyng's Mag:y and his councel's for thyngs yt I have gotten by ſuche practyces, as I have in twenty lettres: uſe now all your pollicy, uſe now all your frends, uſe now all your dexterite to come to knowledge and intelligens. this and ſuche lyke were my pollicye, and by ſuche meanes afterwards, and ſetting two to be ſpyes on that ſame Pole in Toledo, when he came in poſte to th' Emperor, I diſcoverd the treaſone of Brauncetor and the practyſes of Pole in the Emperor's cowrte, and I dare ſaye the Kings ma:te was ſerved by the ſame dede, and howe, my Lds of ye councell knowe, bothe *by* my lettres and declaration ſens I have bene pryſoner. but thys I ſhall beſeche you to note in thys matter, that now I ſpeake of,

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of, for that I ſpake before, that ſucceſſes declare ſuſpectes: afore Pole came owte of Rome to go poſt to th' Emperoure, I had ſo good intelligens, yt I knew of yt and advertyſed, that he ſhulde come: where in I deſyred to know, what I ſhulde do. I harde no thynge. I wrote agayne, he is on the ſee, or els as fare as Genes by lande hetherwarde. I harde no worde agayne (this was ether by cawſe it was not beleved, or els theye thought, yt was not lyke, yt I ſhulde gett the knowledge beinge in Spayne) I wrote agayne, he is in Spayne, and what I hade done: for I had laboured before his cominge importunatlye, yt he ſhulde have bene ordered accordinge to the tretis. I harde yet no worde. in concluſion, on my owne heade I dyd ſo myche, that he was nether ſent agaynſt, beinge the Byſhope of Rome's Legate, nether receaved, nor dyd nothynge, yt he came for, nor rewarded (wch Princes uſe), nor accompaned owte agayne. and beſydes yt, I knewe and advertyſed all his doings, and ſente a coppie of hys own chefe matters; and thus was he by my induſtrie dyſpached owte of Spayne ſmally to his reputation or contentinge; and the aunſwere wth the Kinge, afore the lettres came to me by Ffraunce *that directed* how I ſhulde order myſelf in the buſyneſs. this (I ſaye) hathe bene of the fruits of myne intelligens wth Pole. that (as God judge me) this 7 yere, I ſuppoſe, came no gladder newes unto hym, then thys of my troble; and one my trothe yt is no

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ſmale troble unto me, yt he ſhulde rejoyce in hyt. But to ſett ſpies on traytors yt is I thinke no newe practys wth Imbaſſadours. he of Ffraunce, that is now here, had he not, trowe ye, them, yt knet companie wth *Capps* afore he was delivered here? I myſelfe the laſt yere at Parrys appoynted *Welden* and Swerder, 2 ſchollers there, to entertayne Brauncetor, yt by them I myght knowe, where he became alwayes, for his ſodayne apprehenſion. the Byſhope was made prevye unto yt; ſo was Mr. Totle: and I wolde have had Maſon done thys, but preſentlye afore the Byſhope he refuſed yt, alleginge that he had ons ſwarved from him in ſuche a lyke matter. I had no warrant for all this gere, no more had the Byſhope in this, yt I knowe of, other then of the auctorite and truſte, that an Imbaſſadour hathe and ought to have. beſyde thys ye bringe in nowe, yt I ſhulde have thys intelligens with Pole bycawſe of our opinions, yt are lyke; and yt I am papiſhe. I thynke, I ſhulde have more adoe with a great ſorte in Inglande to purge myſelf of ſuſpecte of a Lutherane, then of a Papyſt. what men judge of me abrode, this may be a great token, yt the Kings Mag.te and hys Councell know, what hazarde I was in in Spayne wth the Inquiſition onlye by ſpekinge agaynſte the Byſhop of Rome, wher peradventure Bonar woulde not have byd ſuche a brunt. th' Emprore had myche a doe to ſave me, and yet yt made me not holde my peace, when I myght defend the Kings

Kings deed agaynſt him, and improve his naughtines. but in this caſe, good maiſters, ye ſhall *hear* evidence: *what* the Kinge and his councell thought in this matter, when theie domiſed Maſon at his fyrſt examination, and for the ſmale wayght ther was ether agaynſt hym or me. and what thynge hathe there happened ſens, yt was not then openyd? inquere, and ye ſhall fynde none. but now to the tother parte of my accuſation, tochinge my *ſayenge*. for the love of owre Lorde, waye yt ſubſtantiallie, and yet with all remembre the naughtie handlinge of my accuſares in the tother poynte; and in this you ſhall ſee no les maliciouſnes, and a great deale more *falſitie*. and fyrſte lett us handle the matter, as tho I had ſo ſaide, excepte onlie that ſame *falſely*, *maliciouſlie* and *traytorouſlie* wth all. were yt ſo, I had ſaide the wordes: yet yt remaynethe unproved. (but tayke it not, yt I graunt them; for I meane not ſo) but onlye that I had ſo ſaide. reherſe here the lawe of words. declare, my Lords, I beſeke you, the meaninge therof. this includethe, yt wordes maliciouſlie ſpoken or trayterouſlye agaynſte the Kinges perſone ſhulde be taken for treaſone. yt is not meante, Maiſters, of words, wch dyſpyſe the Kynge lyghtly, or wch are not all the moſt reverently ſpoken of hym, as a man ſhulde judge a *chaes* againſte hym at the *tennis*, whear withe he were not all the beſte contented. but ſuche words, as bere an open mallice, or ſuche wordes, as perſwade commotions

tions or ſeditions or ſuche thynges. and what ſay my Accuſares in theiſe words? do theie ſwere I ſpake them trayterouſlie or maliciouſlye? I dare ſay, theie be ſhamles ynoughe: yet have theie not ſo depoſed agaynſt me. rede there depoſitions. theie ſaye not ſo. confere ther depoſitions, yf theie agre word for worde. that is harde, yf theie were examyned aparte, onleſſe theye had conſpired more then became faithfull Accuſars. yf they dyſagre in wordes, and not in ſubſtaunce, let us here the wordes theie varie in, for in ſome lyttel thyng maie appere the truthe, wch (I dare ſaie) you ſeke for conciens ſake. and beſydys that, yt is a ſmale thynge in alteringe of one ſyllable ether with penne or worde, that may make in the conceavynge of the truthe myche matter on error. for in thys thynge I *fere* or I *truſte* ſemethe but one ſmale ſyllable chaunged, and yet yt maketh a great dyfferaunce, and may be of an herer wronge conceaved, and worſe reported, and yet worſte of all altered by an examiner. agayne *fall owte*, *caſt owt*, or *left owte*, maketh dyfferaunce, yea, and the ſettinge of ye wordes one in anothers place may mayke great dyfferaunce, tho' the wordes were all one, as a myll-horſe, and a horſe-myll. I beſyche you therefore, examen the matter under this ſorte; confere there ſeverall ſayinges together, confer examynations upone the ſame matter, and I dare warrante, ye ſhall find myſreportinge and myſunderſtandynge. but fyrſte for my owne

parte

parte lett this ſayinge be interpreted in the hygheſte kynde of naughtines and maliciouſnes, yea, and alter them moſte, yt cane be, yt yt may be founde to that purpoſe, this is: (wche God forbede ſhulde be thought of anye man) yt by throwinge owte of a cartes-arſe I ſhulde mene that vile deathe, yt is ordayned for wrechede theves. beſydes this; put, that I were the naughtieſte ranck Traytour, yt ever the grounde bare. dothe any man thynke, yt I were ſo folyſhe, ſo voyde of wytt, that I wolde have told Bonar and Haynes, wch had alreddie lowarde at my faſhiones, that I wolde ſo ſhamfull a thynge to the Kyngs hyghenes. tho I were, I ſaye, ſo naughtie a Knave, and not all of the wyſeſte, yet am I not ſo verie a fole, tho' I thought ſo abominablye, to make them previe of yt, with whome I had no great acquayntaunce, and myght les truſte. but yt is far from yt poynte; men may not be interpreted by aſmyche as may be evell wreſted and worſe conjectured. ther muſt be reaſon and appearanſe in everie thyng: but that waye ther is non. but ye knowe, Maiſters, yt is a commen proverbe, *I am lefte owte of ye cartes arſe*, and yt is taken upon packinge gere for carriage together, yt yt is evell-taken heede to, or negligently ſlyppes owte of the carte, and is loſte. ſo upone this bleſſed peace, yt was handled, as partlye is touched before, where ſemed to be an union of moſt part of Chriſtendome, I ſawe, yt we honge yet in ſuſpens betwene the two prynces, that ware at

warre, and that nether of them wolde conclude wth us directly agaynſte the Byſhope of Rome, and yt we alſo wolde not conclude elſe wth none of them: wherby I doubted that theie wolde conclude amongſte themſelves, and leave us owte, and in communicating with ſome paradventure *foretaſtinge theſe perils* I myght ſaie, I fere, for all theſe mene's fayer promyſes the kinge ſhall be lefte owte of the carts ars; and lament, yt maynie good occaſions had bene lett ſlype of concludinge wth one of *theſe* princes. and I thynk, yt I have uſed the ſame proverbe wth ſome in tawlkinge; but yt I uſed *it* wyth Bonar and Haynes, I never remembre, and yf I ever dyd, I am ſure never, as theie couche the tale. and yf I have uſed yt with anye other, I thynke, yt hathe bene with Blage or with Maſone: let ther declarations be reherſed, yf theie have bene in that examyned, wher by it may appere, what I mente by the proverbe. but conſyder the place and tyme, where my Accuſars ſayethe, yt I ſhulde ſpeake yt, and therby ye ſhall eaſyly perceave, yt ether theie lye, and miſreporte the tale; or els that I cane *not* ſpeake Inglyſhe. At Barſolona (ſaye theie) after we were come from Nice and Villa-francka and Aquas-Mortis; yt was after the trues concluded, after the metinge of the Princes; yea, and afore that, the Kyng's mag:te was lefte owte of the packinge indede, wher of at Aquas-mortis I ſente him the coppie of the concluſions, and chapiters of ye peace, whear

in

in he was not mentioned, contrarie to th' Empror's promas and to the Frenche lettres. ſens we knewe all thre the ſame, yt is now lyke, yt after this I wolde uſe the future tens, in yt was paſt. and *ſhall*, ye *ſhall* ſee, and then *yf it be ſo, by goddys bloude, he is well ſerved*; and then, *I wolde, he were ſo*. yt is more lyke, I ſhulde ſay (yf it were ſpoken at Barſelona) yt he *is* lefte owte of the carte's ars, and by goddys bloude he *is* well ſerved, and I *am* glad of it. by thys you may perceave, that ether theie lye in the tyme and the place, or els theie lye in reportinge the thynge. but by cawſe I am wonte ſome tyme to rappe owte an othe in an erneſte tawke, looke, howe craftylie theie have put in an othe to the matter to mayke the matter ſeme myne, and by cawſe theie have garded a noughtie garmente of thers with one of my nawghtie gardes, theie wyll ſwere and face me downe, that that was my garment: but bringe me my garment, as yt was. yf I ſaide anye lyke thynge, reherſe my tale, as I ſaide it. no man can beleve you, that I mente yt, as you conſtere it; or that I ſpake, as you alledge yt; or that I underſtande Inglyſhe ſo evell to ſpeake ſo owte of purpoſe. therfore the tyme, the place, and other mens ſayings upone the ſame matter, bewraye yowr crafte and yowr falcehoode. yt well apperethe, that you have a towarde will to hyt, but that you lacked in the matter practyſe or wytt: for (theie ſaye) he that will lye well, muſte have a good remembraunce,

membraunce, yt he agre in all poynts with hym ſelfe, leſte he be ſpied. to you, my good maiſters; in this purpoſe I dowte not, but you ſee all reddie, yt in this ſayinge (yf I had ſo ſaide) I mente not yt nowghtie interpretation, yt no Devell wolde have imagined upone me; nother is *proved* unto you, nor anie appearans therof alleged. byſydes howe unlyke yt is, that I ſhulde ſo ſay, as yt is alleged; and finally, as I do graunte, I myght ſaie, and as I thinke, I dyd ſay, that is no treaſon; for yt I ſhulde wyſhe or will, that the kinge ſhulde be lefte owte of the comprehenſion, the Kinge hymſelf and all the Councell, that were at that tyme underſtanding in the Kynge's affaires, know, what labour and what paynes I toke to have his matters comprehended; and I reporte me unto hym and them; and ſume man wolde have thought yt myche to have ſaide ſo myche to his fellow, as I ſaide after to the Emperour and his councellours, chargeinge them with that theie had broken promas with the Kyng. this was an evidente ſygne of my will, that I wolde nothynge les, then the myſgoinge of the kynges affayres, namelye of theſe, that I had the handlynge of. yf theie wolde have proved that, theie ſhuld have brought in my negligens, my ſlowthfulnes, my falſe handlynge of myſelfe, wherbye the King's matters had quayled: but I ſaye this much; yf theie have quayled for lacke of wytt, I am excuſable. lett the Kyng blame hys choyſe, and not me. but yf

theie

theie have bene hyndered of one mynute of th'advaunce-mente, yt theie myght have had, by my untruthe, my ſlack-nes, my negligens, my pleaſures, myne eaſes, my meate, my healthe, lett any of this be provyd, and lett yt be trea-ſon unto me. but now comethe too places, the conjectures and lyklyhoods, that makethe proffes of myne intelligens with Pole, and of my maliciouſe ſpeakinge of yt ſame ſo dyſguyſed ſayinge. but howe cane anye thynge mayke a profe, or a conjecture of nothynge? ye ſee the principells ar-wyped away. what matter cane the apparences mayke? but yet let me aunſwere unto them, ye ſhall ſe them mayke for my purpoſe. one and of the greateſt is thys; Wyatt grudged at his fyrſte puttinge in the Tower. ergo, ſaie theie, he bare malyce in his harte, and yt is lyke he ſowght intelligens wth Pole, and alſo he wyſhede the Kings affayres to myſcarrie, by cawſe he wolde ton way or tother be re-venged. paradventure my accuſars frame not ther argument ſo much apparante agaynſte me. but let us examen everie poynte therof. Wyat grudgede at his fyrſte puttinge into ye Towere. yf theie tayke *grudginge* for beinge ſorie or grev-inge, I wyll not ſtycke wyth them, I graunte yt, and ſo I thynke it wolde do to any here. but yf they vuſe that worde *grudginge* includinge a deſyer to revenge: I ſaye they lye, I never ſo grudged; nor theie nor anye other mane can ether profe that, or mayke a lyklyhood of a profe therof. Maſon

ſayethe, he hathe harde me complaine therof. what then? dothe Maſone ſay, that therby he reckned, I mente revenging, beringe malice in my harte? I knowe hym ſo well, that he wyll not ſo interpret complayning or moninge to revenginge. but here come my 2 other honeſt men, and they ſaye, that I ſhulde ſay, Godde's bloude, the Kyng ſett me in the Tower, and afterwarde ſent me for hys embaſſadoure. was not this I praye you a pretie way to gett me credit, as *they* ſay, I ſhulde thynke? now put yt, that I had ſpoken ſo lyke an Idiote, as they ſeme to make me by this tale. what grudginge, or revenginge, ſyndethe anye for my puttinge into the Tower in this ſayinge? is there anye threatninge? is there anye grudginge? ye, and that yt is fare from my nature to ſtudie to revenge, yt may appere by the manye great dyſpyts and dyſpleaſures, that I have had done unto me, wch yet at this daye is no man alive, that can ſay, that ever I dyd hurte hym for revenginge. and in this caſe yet muche leſſe, for yt is ſo fare from my defyer to revenge, that I never imputed to the King's hyghneſs my impryſonmente, and hereof cane Mr. Lieutenant here preſent teſtifye, to whom I dyd ever impute yt. ye, and farther, my Lorde of Suffolke hym ſelfe cane tell, that I imputed yt to him; and not onlye at the beginninge, but even that verſe nyght before my apprehenſion nowe laſte: what tyme (I remembre) my *ſueinge* unto hym for his favor to remytte his old unde-

undeſervyd evill-will, and to remembre, lyke as he was a mortall mane, ſo to bere no immortall hate in his breſt. altho I had receavyd the injurie at his hands, let hym ſaye, whether this be trewe. but what is there in this article of my faſhion. marke yt (I pray you) here agayne they have garded my tale with an othe, bycawſe yt ſhulde ſeme myne. but lett them be examined, yt have harde me tawlke of that matter, whearof theie ſeme to tere a pece or too, and pache them together, as yf a mane ſhulde tayke one of my dublet ſleves, and one of my cote, and ſowe them togither after a dyſguiſed faſhion, and then ſaye, loke (I praye you) what apparell Wyatt wereth. I ſay, lett other men be examined, and ye ſhall fynde, that after I came owte of the tower in the * commotion-tyme, that I was appoynted to go agaynſte the Kyngs Rebells, and dyd, untill I was countermaundyd as ſpeddilie and as well furniſhed, as I was well able; that after, I was made Shryf of Kente for a ſpeciall confidence in ſuche a buſye tyme; that after that agayne I was ſente the Kinges Imbaſſadoure. I have dyvers tymes boſted therof, and taken yt for a great declaration of my truthe, for all my puttinge in the tower the confydence and the credet the Kinge putt in me after. and of thys paradventure theie have malicyouſlie perverted ſome pece of my tale, yf theie per-

chaunce

* He means the great inſurrection of the northern counties in 1537, during Cromwell's adminiſtration.

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chaunce were there *preſent*, or hard of yt; and yt maye eaſylie appere; for ther owne ſayinge is, that I ſhulde ſaye, was not this (I praye you) a pretie way to gett me credet? howe thynke ye Maiſters? I ſuppoſe, yt was a way to gett me credet. trowe ye, that anye man wolde thynke, that I ſhulde thinke, yt was not a waye to gett me credet? yt gatt me ſo myche credet, that I am in dett, yet in dett, for yt. marke (I beſyke you) howe this gere hangythe together. this is one of ther proves, that I grudged at my laſt puttinge in the Tower: wch, yf by grudginge theie mene revenginge, you ſe, how ſubſtantially yt is proved; and yf by grudginge theie meene moninge, theie nead not prove yt: I graunt yt. will anye man then, that hath honeſtie wyt or dyſcretion, gather, that bycawſe I bemoned my impryſonment, that therfore I bare malice and wolde revenge? will anye man, that hathe Chryſtiane charite and anye conſciens, upon ſuche a malicious gatheringe frame an accuſation upone a manes lyf? dothe anye man, that hathe anye preavinge, ſee not the malice of theſe mene? yf ther be anye of you, that dothe not, I bynd my ſelff, or my tale be done, to lett you ſee yt in great lettres. but unto this theie adde wyth all, that I ſhulde wyſhe the Kinge had ſent me to Newgate, when he ſent me Embaſſadoure. I confeſſe franckly, I never begged the office; and, but for the obediens to my maſter, I wolde have utterlie refuſed yt. and how I excuſed the takinge of yt

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yt my L^ds of the Councell can bere me recorde, as well for that I knewe my owne unhabilitie, wherby I shulde *be* wonderouslye accombred, for that I was geven to a more pleasaunt kynd of lyf. my combraunce I founde agayne, when I had great matters in hande, medlinge with wyse men, had no councell but my owne folyshe hede, a great zeale, that the Kinge myght be well served by me, a great fere lest any thinge shulde quayle through my fawte. this solicitude, this care, trobled me. Masone, Blage, Mr. Hobbye, Mr. Dudeleye, and other, that were with me, cane testifie, ye, and my lettres oftymes hether, that I wyshte a meter man then myselffe in the rowme; ye, and that I had bene at the ploughe on that condition. but I never remembre (in goode faythe), that I shulde name Newgate in that matter. but yf I had so sayed, altho yt had byn foolyshelie spoken, what provethe this malice to revengynge for my beinge in the Tower? wolde he, trowe ye, that wolde revenge, wyshe himselfe in Newegate? ys yt not lyke, this matter? a man wolde thinke rather, he beinge an Imbassadour myght doe more dyspite towarde the kinge. ther he myght play the false Knave, and dyscover, mayke misrelation, and suche partes. but what thinge is yt, that these men wolde not wreste for there purpose, that wreste such thynge? theie founde fawte, that I dyd not them the honor, that belonged to the King's Imbassadours: I lente not them my horse,

when I went owte of Barſolona, nor I dyd not accompanie them on the waye. fyrſte I reporte me to my ſervauntes, whearof ſome of them ar gentell men *and* ryght honeſt men; to ther own ſervauntes; ye, and lett them aunſwere them ſelves. dyd ye not ſytt all wayes at the upper ende of the table? went we abrode att any tyme together, but that either ton or tother was on my right hande? came any man to vyſet me, whome I made not do ye reverence, and vyſett ye to? had ye not in the gallye the moſt and beſt commodious places? had anye man a worſe, then I? wheare ye wer charged with a grote, was not I charged with five? was not I for all this fyrſt in the comyſſion? was not I Embaſſadour reſydent? a better man, than ether of ye bothe, ſhulde have gone without that honour, that I dyd you, yf he had loked for yt. I knowe no man, that did you diſhonour, but your unmanerly behaviour, that made ye a laughehyng ſtocke to all men, that came in your companie, and me ſume tyme to ſwete for ſhame to ſee you. yett lett other judge, how I hydd and cover'd your fawts. but I have not to do to charge you; I will not ſpend the tyme about it. but marke (I praye you) I lent not them my horſes: they never deſyer'd to go into the towne to walke or ſterre owte of ther lodginge, but theie had mule or horſe or bothe reddie for them, fot-clothe and harneſſed wyth velvet of the beſt, that I had, for mule or hackney. Marye, yt was thoughte indede

dede amongſt us, that Bonar colde have bene content to have bene upone a genet with gylt harnes. theſe men came in poſt, and went againe in poſt at theire partinge. my ſervauntes had gotten ther poſt-horſes redie. wolde theie have had wyth owt neceſſity my horſe to have redden poſt? I brought them to ther horſe. wolde theie, I ſhulde have companied them rydinge in poſte? chyldren wolde not have played the fooles ſo notablye. was not this a pretie article towarde treaſon to be alleaged agaynſt me by Bonar? ſome man myght thynke, that herby a man myght preave the malice, that hathe moved my troble: but yet yt ſhall be more manyfeſte. an other occaſion ther is; that I ſhulde ſay, theie wer more mette to be parryſhe-preſts, then Embaſſadours. by my truthe, I never leked them in deade for Embaſſadours; and no more dyd the moſte parte of them, that ſawe thym, and namelye theie, that had to do with them. but yt dyd I not *talk* on my faithe with no ſtraungers. but yf I ſayd, theie were meter to be paryſhe preſts, on my faythe I never remembre yt; and yt is not lyke, I ſhulde ſo ſaye; for as fare as I coulde ſee, nether of them bothe had greatlie anye fancie to maſſe, and that (ye knowe) were requiſite for a paryſhe-preſt: for this cane all, that were there, report, that not on of them all, while theie were there, ſaid maſſe, or offer'de to here maſs, *and* thoght yt was but a ſuperſtition. I ſay, bothe Maſone and I, by-

cawſe

cawſe of the name that Inglyſhe Men then had, to be all Lotherans, were fayne to intreate them that we myght ſome tymes ſhewe owrſelves in the Churche together, that Men conceavyd not an evell opynion of us. let Maſon be aſked of this. yt was not lyke then, that the Byſhope of London ſhuld ſue to have the ſcripture in Inglyſhe taken owte of the churche. but I have not to do wyth all: I muſt here aunſwere to interrogatories, that upon this occaſion by lyke were myniſtred agaynſt me. whether he thought, that I coulde be a good Subjecte, that myſlekethe or repugnethe his prynces procedings? I ſay here, as I ſaide unto yt, as fare as myſlykinge or repugninge includethe violent dyſobediens or ſeditious perſwaſion, I thinke, he is no goode ſubjecte: but to myſlike a bwyldinge, a choyſe of an Embaſſadour, or the makinge of a lawe (obeyinge it never the les) or ſuche thynges procedinge, altho paradventure yt may be done owte of tyme and place, yet I thinke, yt may be with owte hurte of allegeans: onles ther be a lawe made to the contrarie, wch I knowe not. what ſaye I then to the *lawe of wordes*, wch Maſon ſhulde ſaye, that me thought verie harde, and that the fyrſt devyſers were well ſerved in fawlinge into yt, wch he thynkethe I ment by the Lorde Rocheforde or the Lorde of Eſſex? this and yf yt were offens, yt is uncertayne by his own ſayenge; and yet I never remembre, I ſayde ſo unto hym. but what is yt to treaſone? do I mayntayne

tayne agaynſt the lawe? do I perſwade any violens agaynſt the lawe? yt rather includethe allowance of the lawe, yf theie wer well ſerved, yt theie ſufferde for offendinge in that. agayne ſayethe Maſone, that I ſhulde ſaye unto hym, that yt was a godlie acte, the acte of ſupreme hede, ſpeciouſlye the Kg's Mag:te being ſo vertuouſe, ſo wyſe, ſo lernede, and ſo good a prynce: but yf yt ſhulde fall into an evell prince, yt yt were a ſore roode. I ſuppoſe, I have not myſſayde in that: for all powers, namelye abſolute, ar ſore roods, when theie fall into evell mens handes; and yet I ſaie, theie ar to be obeied by expres lawe of *God*; for that ther is no evell Prence, but for deſerte of the people, and no hande over an evell Prynce, but the hande of God. this, upone examyninge of as maynie men, as have byne familiar with me, amonge whome ſome wordes myght have eſcaped, ar ſucked owt bothe of them and of me wyth ſuche interrogatories: yet is no thyng founde of me of treaſon. ye, and when ther is anye towarde my maiſter within thys harte, a ſharpe ſwerde go thether with all. but bycawſe I bounde my ſelffe to mayke this malyce of my accuſars to appere manyfeſte unto you, lett me come to an other poynte of ther accuſinge, wch was by Bonars lettres to th' Erle of Eſtſex, that I leved vicioufly amonge the Nonnes of Barſelona. to th' ende ye be fully perſwaded and enformed of yt matter, there be maynie *men* in the towne and moſt of them *gentlemen*, wch walke upone there horſes, and here and there tawlke with thoſe la-

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dies; and when theie will, go and ſyt, companie togyther with them, tawlkinge in there chambers. Erles, Lordes, Dukes, vuſe the ſame, and I amonge them. I uſed not the paſtyme in companye of Ruffians, but wyth ſuche, or wyth Embaſſadours of *Fferrara*, of Mantua, of Venes, a man of 60 yeres old, and ſuch viciouſe compaynie. I praye you now, let me turne my tale to Bonar: for thys ryſethe of hym, and ſo (I thinke) dothe all the reſte: for hys craftie malice (I ſuppoſe in my conſciens) abuſethe the other's ſymplenes. come on now, my Lorde of Londone, what is my abominable and viciouſe livinge? do ye knowe yt, or have you harde yt? I graunte, I do not profeſſe chaſtite: but yet I vuſe not abomination. yf ye knowe yt, tell yt here, wyth whome, and when. yf ye harde yt, who is yowr autor? have you ſene me have anye harlet in my howſe, whilſt ye were in my companie? dyd you ever ſee woman ſo myche as dyne or ſuppe at my table? none, but for your pleaſure, the woman, that was in the gallye; wch I aſſure ye may be well ſeene, for (before you came) nether ſhe, nor anye other came above the maſts. but, bycawſe the gentell men toke pleaſure to ſee you intertayne her, therfore theie made her dyne and ſuppe wyth you; and theie leked well your lokes, your carvinge to Madonna, yowr drynking to her, and your playing under the table. aſke Maſon, aſke Blage, (Bowes is dede) aſke Wolf, that was my ſtuarde. theie cane tell, howe the gentell men marked yt, and tawlked of yt. yt

was

was a playe to them, the kepinge of yowr bottels, that no man myght drynk of but yowr ſelff; and that the lyttel fat preſt were a jollye morſell for the *Signora*. this was there tawlke: yt is not my devyſe. aſke other, whether I do lye. but turne to my owne parte. what, thynke you, thys man ment ſyncerelye to accuſe me of treaſon, when he ſekethe the conjectures to prove my treaſone by my monynge the fyrſte impryſonment, by not lendinge my horſe, (whearin alſo he lyethe) by not accompanyinge hym owte of towne, by myſlyking them for Embaſſadours, and by my vicious livinge with Nones. this man thought rather to *defame* me, then ſyncerelie to accuſe me. lyke as (I truſte) ye woll not condemne me for conjectures and lyklyhods, and namelye ſo owte of all apperance, allthough you here them: lykewiſe (I praye you) give me leave to ſhewe you my conjecture and lykelihoods upone theſe thynges, and then geſſe: whether I go nerer the truthe. and yet I deſyer not by them to be abſolved, ſo that by the other I be not alſo condemned. th' Erle of Eſtſex by lyke deſyred Bonarde to be a ſpye on me, and to advertyſe hym. he, thynkinge, that yf he myght wipe me owte of that rowme, yt hymſelfe myght come to yt (as in dede the man is deſyerus of honor) and for my parte I wolde he had it with owte envie. that this might be a practyſe of th' Erle of Eſtſex, I thynke, towarde me, not meaninge for anye treaſone, but to fynde, whether yt wer trewe, that I dyd ſo goode ſervyce, as was reported. I know by

by myſelff; for ſo wolde he have had me done for hym towarde my * L^d of Wyncheſter, then beinge Embaſſadoure in Fraunce; and (I ſuppoſe) my ſaide Lorde culde tell, by Bonar's meanes and one Barnabe's, what a tragedie, and a ſuſpecte theie ſtur'd agaynſt hym. well, all thys is reconciled. but yet (I ſaye) yt is the lykelyar, that he wolde tayke that office towarde me, y^t uſed yt to an other; and then, conceavyng in hys minde (and that, as God judge me, falſelye) y^t I had letted hym in Spaine, that he had no reward of the Emperour, conceaved ther wyth all a malyce, and by ſome inkelinge, that he had, that I myſliked hys faſhione; and upone this he hathe bylte this ungodlie worke, y^t ye ſee, that ſtandythe all by invention, conjectures, lykelihoods, ſtreched, wreſted, and drawne owte of all *godd forbod*, wyth owte anye prof at all. this fare I have had to ſaye upone the fundation and reringe of this accuſation agaynſte me; and I do not myſtruſte yowr wyſedome never a whytte, but lyke as ye waye the chef pryncipells, ſo waye ye lyttell theſe horrible and ſclaunderus words, y^t of ordinarie lerned Men vuſe bothe in there indyctmentes and accuſations, as at the be-

* In 1538 the King recalling from Spain Edmund Bonner, elect Biſhop of Hereford and his Ambaſſador then with the Emperour, he employed him in France in the place of Stephen Gardiner, who had foured all things, ſince being one, who both diſliked the King's late proceedings and ſecretly favoured the Emperour, he did his maſter little ſervice in that court. Bonner was roughly received by Gardiner, and coldly by the French King. *Lord Herbert, p.* 372.

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begynninge I declared them to ſatisfye your conſciences: but a great dele better to ſatisfye your myndes I tochede afore, that this mattere 2 yeres paſſed was afore the councell, Maſon in holde detayned, and all thys reherſed, and he demyſſed. I harde therof, and ſued to come home for my declaration. after I came home, I was in hande with th' Erle of Eſtſex. he deſyred me to lett yt pas: I was clered well ynoughe; and he tolde me myche of thys thinge, that I have in the matter reherſed. yf this wer not ſuffyciente to ſatisfye yowr conſciens, then tayke more wyth you. within 6 monthes after that I came home. ſo farre unlyke was yt, that anye of theſe gere, bothe then knowne, examyned, and dimiſſed, ſhulde be tayken for treaſone, that I was ſent agayne Embaſſadour to th' Emperour at hys comynge into Ffraunce, and the Kyng's grace had rewarded me with a good pece of landes above my deſervinge; and then yt was ſayde unto me, I was uſed for the neceſſite, ye, and my inſtrument of my treaſons was ſent with me, Mr Maſon. I came home in the begynninge of y^e^ laſte ſummer. I rane not awaye at none of all theſe goinges on. all thys whyle, tyll nowe, ther hathe byn no queſtion of this recknynge. yf any thinge of newe be agaynſte me, w^ch^ is not alleged, yf yt be nothyng but thys, yt hathe bene tryed and dyſmyſſed; you ſee, what evidens the Councellers geve agaynſt me. the confidens put in my affares is for you to acquyte me. and yt is a nawghtie fere, yf anye Man have anye ſuche, to

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thynke, a Queſte dare not acquyte a man of treaſon, when theie thinke hym clere: for yt were a fowle ſclaunder to the Kyng's mag.te. God be thanked, he is no tyraunt. he woll no ſuche thynges agaynſt men's conſciens. he will but his lawes, and his lawes with mercie. what diſpleaſure bare he to the Lordes for ye acquytinge the Lorde Dacres? never none: nor woll not unto you, yf you do as your conſciens leads you. and for a great cawſe: the lawe mynyſtrethe betwyxte the Kynge and his ſubjecte an othe to the Queſte in favor of the ſubjecte, for yt ſuppoſethe more favor to be borne to the Prynce, then to the partie, yf the othe bounde not Chriſtian Men's conſciens.

Thus myche I thought to ſaye unto you before bothe God and Mane to dyſcharge me, that I ſeme not to peryſhe in my owne fawte for lacke of declarynge my truthe; and afore God and all theſe mene I charge you with my innocent truthe, yt in caſe (as God defende) ye be gyltie of myne innocente bloude, that ye before hys tribunall ſhal be inexcuſable. and for concludinge, our Lorde put in your hartes to pronounce upon me accordinge, as I have willed to the Kinge, my Maſter and Soveraigne, in harte, wyll, and wyſhe.

T. W.

APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.

I Promiſed to quote a paſſage relative to the caſe of Anne Boleyn. It is not curious from containing any new *proof* of her Guilt or Innocence, though the charge is inflamed; but It is the perſon who bears Teſtimony againſt her that gives ſome appearance of weight to the accuſation. It is a Proteſtant, a man who lived in the reigns of Henry VIII. of Edward VI. and of Mary; and who was put to death by the latter, if not for his religion, at leaſt for diſaffection to her, her Spaniſh huſband, and government. This was William Thomas, Clerk of the Council to King Edward, a Prebendary of St. Paul's, and Parſon of Preſthend in South Wales---and yet I doubt whether he was in orders; it being more probable that he enjoyed the two latter preferments by the favour of the Crown, which in that unſettled ſtate of religion often beſtowed the emoluments of the church on lay favourites; a ſuppoſition I ground on a very uncreditable proceeding of this William Thomas, in procuring the Prebend above-mentioned---as may be ſeen in the Biographia Brit. vol. ii, p. 947, note [C]. He was a man of ſome parts and an author, having written an account of Italy, whither he * fled in the reign of Henry, and which is in print;

* We are not told on what account; he only ſays himſelf, Conſtrained by misfortune.

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print; and ſome diſcourſes in MS. ſtill extant in the Britiſh Muſeum, whither they were carried with the remainder of the Cottonian MSS. It appears from two of them that he was conſulted by the young King both on his foreign and domeſtic affairs, two of the treatiſes (each very ſhort) being replies to his Majeſty's queſtions on thoſe ſubjects. But his principal work, principal at leaſt for its ſingularity, is a Dialogue which he has entituled Le Peregryne. It is a profeſſed defence of Henry VIII. and is addreſſed to the famous Peter Aretine, in an epiſtle as bold as ſingular, conſidering how formidable the pen of the perſon he writes to was eſteemed in that age; a new mark of which appears by a legacy mentioned in that epiſtle, which I ſhall here tranſcribe.

A Defence of King Henrie *the* VIII. *againſt the Slanders of Tyranny, &c.*

Caſtigans caſtigavit me Dominus
Et Morti non tradidit me. W. T.

To Mr. Peter Aretine *the right natural Poet.*

LYKE as many tymes the wyld wodds and barrayne mountaynes yeld more delite unto the ſeldome traveyled Citizen, then do the pleaſant orchardes & gardens whoſe bewtye & fruite he dayly receyveth; ſo hath it now pleaſed me rather

Rep.d H.C. 8.7.47

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The book itſelf begins thus,

VESPASIAN, D. XVIII. Page 48.

PERIGRIN.

Perigrine made by William Thomas.

He that dieth wyth Honour lyveth for ever,
And the defamed dead recovereth never.

CONSTRAYNED by misfortune to abandon the place of my nativitie, and to walke at the random of the wyde world in the moneth of Februarye, and after the Church of England 1546, it happened to me to arryve in the Citie of Bononie, &c.

The Author feigns himſelf to have fallen into company with bigotted Papiſts, who pour forth their accuſations againſt Henry, and tax him with cruelty, as he juſtly deſerved, even to their enemies the Proteſtants. W. Thomas goes through their objections and anſwers them; yet though he juſtifies the Reformation, on the enormous abuſes committed by the Popes, he ſpeaks with even more than partiality in behalf of Catharine of Arragon, extolling her beauty as

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as well as her virtues. Could this be flattery to her daughter the Princeſs Mary, who was in diſgrace with her brother? And would the ſame man load the memory of the mother of another Princeſs, [Elizabeth] more dear to his maſter? The man is ſaid, and in truth appears, to have been of a warm temper and not very conſiſtent in his opinions; yet from theſe and other circumſtances, he ſeems to intend to be impartial, and was perhaps more culpable from want of information than from deſign.

His antagoniſt in the Dialogue having fallen on Henry's rigour to Anne Boleyn, Thomas makes the following defence for him.

Page 70. --------- Now incontinently after that divorce the Kynge maried (as I have ſayde) his ſecond Wyfe named the Lady Anne Bolene, whoſe liberal Lyfe were ſo ſhamefull to reherſe. Once ſhe was as wyſe a woman endued with as many outward good Qualities in playing on inſtruments ſyngyng & ſuche other courtly Graces as few wemen were of her tyme, with ſuch a certayne outward profeſſion of gravitie as was to be mervayled at. Butt inward ſhe was all another dame than ſhe ſeemed to be; for in ſatisfieng of her carnal appetite ſhe fled not ſo muche as the company of her owne naturall Brother beſides the company of 3 or 4 others of the gallanteſt Gentylmen that were nere aboute the Kynges proper perſon, who were all ſo familiarly drawn in to her traine by

by her owne devellyſh devices that it ſhould ſeme ſhe was alway well occupied. The buſye doyng wherof gave the Kynge greate Cauſe of Suſpicion, ſo that fyndyng by ſearch the ymagined miſchiefs to have effect, he was enforced to procede therein by way of open Juſtice, where the matter was manifeſted unto the whole World, and the Sentence given agaynſt them, in ſo much, that both She & her Brother with the other 4 Gentylmen were beheaded. For adultery in a Kynges Wife weieth no leſſe, then the wronge Reigne of a Baſtard Prince, which thinge for a Commonwelth ought ſpecially to be regarded: and beſides this it was layed unto her Charge, that ſhe with ſome of the reſt had conſpired the Princes Death to avoyde the danger of their Wyckedneſs, which they perceyved could not long be kept ſecret, and this ſecond Wyfe lyved wyth the Kynge aboute the tyme of foure Yeres havyng iſſue a Daughter by him named the Lady Elizabeth which is at this of the age of XIIII Yeres, or there aboutes, a very wittye and gentyll yonge Lady.

It is certainly very extraordinary that a warm Proteſtant ſhould thus ſpeak of Queen Anne's guilt as notorious. He had lived at the time; Catherine was dead; and if the latter's daughter was living, ſo was Anne's too, and of the ſame religion that he himſelf as well as the reigning King profeſſed. Had the Guilt of Anne been even doubtful, one ſhould

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ſhould not ſuppoſe that he would have ventured in the face of ſo many cotemporary and living witneſſes, to have ſpoken of her Criminality as uncontroverted---and yet as he alone has charged her with conſpiring againſt Henry's life, an accuſation that would not have been forgotten by his Majeſty or the Papiſts, one knows not how to allow the authority of a man who ſeems wantonly or ignorantly to have grievouſly exaggerated the accuſation. Yet he does not appear to be propenſe to ſlander---of Queen Catherine Howard he ſpeaks with far more moderation, and inſinuates a doubt whether ſhe was guilty with the perſons laid to her charge, *after* marriage. Should it be urged, that Thomas's accuſation of Anne Boleyn is good authority, as it would certainly have been refuted if falſe; I anſwer, that on diligent enquiry, I cannot learn that the book was ever printed or publiſhed, though the author of the note I have quoted from the Biographia, makes a quære whether a Dialogue called Le Peregrin, printed at Paris in the gothic letter, 1540, be not the ſame. If the author of the note had conſulted the original MS. in the Muſeum, he would have found that Thomas did not begin to write his Peregrine * till the year 1546, ſix years after the date of the printed book he mentions: a date

 which,

* V. Beginning of the book quoted above. The Writer of the Biographia ſays himſelf that Thomas did not fly till 1544; how then could he have a converſation in Italy before he went thither? How could his book be printed ſix years before it was written?

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APPENDIX.

which preceding the death of * Henry by a whole year, a
some account for the frank avowal of Queen Anne's guil-
lt in Thomas after Henry's death, though he left behind him,
ains of Italy, and suppressed, though he left behind him,
his defence of Henry: I am inclined on the whole to be
leave, that Master William Thomas had intended to make
his court by perhaps his peace with Henry, and did not
weigh very scrupulously the authority on which he grounded
his compliments. The dedication to Aretine, must, as it
mentions the King's will, have been written after Henry's
death: and was probably the effect of the author's first
thought on hearing the rumour of the legacy. His believ-
ing it enough to insert it seriously in a dedication, without
further inquiry, reduces his deposition against Anne Boleyn,
of whose treason nobody else ever heard, to the lowest rank
of credibility.

* He died January 28, 1547.

FINIS.

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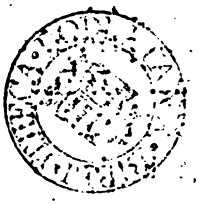
which, preceeding the death of * Henry by a whole year, can alone account for the frank avowal of Queen Anne's guilt.—And as Thomas, after Henry's death, printed his Obſervations on Italy, and ſuppreſſed, though he left behind him, his Defence of Henry; I am inclined on the whole to beleive, that Maſter William Thomas had intended to make his court to, perhaps his peace with, Henry, and did not weigh very ſcrupulouſly the authority on which he grounded his compliments. The dedication to Aretine, muſt, as it mentions the King's will, have been written after Henry's death; and was probably the effect of the author's firſt thought on hearing the rumour of the legacy. His believing it enough to inſert it ſeriouſly in a dedication, without farther inquiry, reduces his depoſition againſt Anne Boleyn, of whoſe treaſon nobody elſe ever heard, to the loweſt rank of credibility.

* He died January 28, 1547.



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